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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

ALBANIA

Berisha Condemns Serb Attacks on Zagreb *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Klestil Promises Support, Views Kosovo Issue *[Editorial Report]* 1
Berisha, Klestil View Relations, Cooperation *[Tirana TV]* 1
Klestil Promises Support for Reconstruction *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 3 May]* 2
Bank Governor Luniku Interviewed on Policies *[KOHA JONE 3 May]* 2

BULGARIA

Hogg Praises Economic Intentions, Ends Visit *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Zhelev Explains Land Act Veto to Political Group *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Ilinden Leader Urges Europe To Unite Macedonia *[KONTINENT 25 Apr]* 4

CZECH REPUBLIC

Foreign Ministry Opposes Use of Force in Croatia *[TANJUG]* 7
Defense Minister Cited on Troops *[Prague Radio]* 7
Proposal To Abolish Payments Accord With Slovakia *[Prague Radio]* 7

SLOVAKIA

FRY's Jovanovic Briefs Meciar, Schenk on Croatia *[Belgrade TV]* 8
Ministry Criticizes U.S. Congressman's Statements *[Bratislava Radio]* 8
Accusation of Double Standard *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 3 May]* 8
Joint Agreement Signed With Netherlands *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 29 Apr]* 9
FRG To Extend Technical Aid, Training *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 29 Apr]* 9
Progress in Liquidating Military Equipment *[Bratislava Radio]* 9
Meciar on Political Situation in Country *[London FINANCIAL TIMES 3 May]* 9
Seized Ammunition Departs Again for India *[PRAVDA 29 Apr]* 10
New Construction, Public Works Minister Appointed *[Bratislava TV]* 11
SNS Opposes Treaty, Makes Personnel Changes *[NARODNA OBRODA 2 May]* 11
HZDS Discusses Situation, Appoints Officials *[NARODNA OBRODA 2 May]* 11

HUNGARY

Prime Minister on Major Domestic, Foreign Issues *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 29 Apr]* 13
Border Police Reorganization, Prospects Viewed *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 29 Apr]* 16
Poll Shows Relative Popularity of Parties *[NEPSZAVA 29 Apr]* 16

POLAND

Lawyer Claims Kuklinski Sentence Unsubstantiated *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 2-3 May]* 17
Politicians Skeptical of Walesa's Plans for Party *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 4 May]* 17
Strzembosz Seeks Solidarity Support *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 4 May]* 18
Balcerowicz Discusses Politics, Freedom Union *[GAZETA SWIATECZNA 24-25 Mar]* 19
Ministry Objects to NBP's Statute Amendment *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 2-3 May]* 21
Majority Fear Resurgence of Russian Imperialism *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 4 May]* 23
Fate of Troubled Fishing Fleet Examined *[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI 26 Apr]* 23

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Izetbegovic Sends Message of Support to Tudjman *[Sarajevo Radio]* 25
Request for Protected Area Status for Western Slavonia *[SRNA]* 25
Serbian Spokesman Defends Attack on Zagreb *[London TV]* 25
Silajdzic on Consequences of Croatian Conflict *[Paris LE FIGARO 3 May]* 26
Tuzla-Podrinje Canton, Federation Discussed *[Sarajevo Radio]* 26
Karadzic's Concluding Remarks From SDS Session *[Banja Luka Radio]* 26
More From SDS Session *[Banja Luka TV]* 27
Serbs Target UN Base at Maglaj, Wound 6 *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
MBO Urges UK To Help Lift Arms Embargo *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
International Community Criticized for Passivity *[TANJUG]* 28
Stoltenberg Fears Possible UN Withdrawal *[Hilversum TV]* 28
Serb War Criminal Suspect Seeks Swiss Asylum *[AFP]* 29

CROATIA

Text of Serb-Croat Cease-Fire Agreement *[TANJUG]* 30
President Tudjman Addresses Nation *[Zagreb TV]* 30
Daily Praises 'Aggression' on Western Slavonia *[TANJUG]* 31
Defense Minister: Over 350 Serbs Killed *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
EU Envoys Tell Granic of Concern About Fighting *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
Croats Attack RSK Civilians After Cease-Fire *[Banja Luka TV]* 32
RSK Army: Croats Occupy UN Observation Posts *[SRNA]* 33
UN, Krajina Officials Sign Cease-Fire in Knin *[Belgrade Radio]* 33
Granic, U.S. Ambassador Condemn Zagreb Shelling *[Zagreb Radio]* 33
Mikelic Cites Akashi 'Guarantees' for Refugees *[TANJUG]* 34
Further on Martic Comments on Croatian Situation *[Zagreb TV]* 34
SVK Confirms Highway Lost, Okucani Controlled *[TANJUG]* 34
Almost All Western Slavonia Said Under Army Control *[Belgrade Radio]* 35
'Propoganda' Used To Blame Serbs for Bombing *[TANJUG]* 35
Western Slavonia Refugees Seek Shelter in RS *[TANJUG]* 36
RSK Official: Attacks Necessary Retaliation *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 4 May]* 36
Serb Krajina Army: All Combat Activities Ceased *[TANJUG]* 36
Government Forces Reportedly Continuing Offensive *[Editorial Report]* 37
RSK Minister Claims Zagreb Planning 'Massacre' *[Knin Radio]* 37
Police Report Explosion Heard in Western Zagreb *[AFP]* 38

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Parties Condemn Croatian Military Operations *[Editorial Report]* 39
Cite Croatian 'Aggression' *[TANJUG]* 39
Jovanovic Returns From Slovakia, Opposes Force *[TANJUG]* 40
Article Presents Milosevic as Main Wire-Puller *[MONITOR 28 Apr]* 40

Serbia

Commentary Condemns Killing 'Innocent Civilians' *[Belgrade TV]* 41
Yugoslav Left Condemns Croat 'Extremist' Forces *[TANJUG]* 41
Radical Leader Seeks To Oust 'Traitor' Milosevic *[Milan L'INDIPENDENTE 3 May]* 41

Montenegro

Deputies Demand President's Stand on Aggression *[Belgrade Radio]* 42

Kosovo

Bukoshi Appeals for 'Sacrifices' From Exiles *[RILINDJA 3 May]* 42

Berisha Condemns Serb Attacks on Zagreb

LD0305193895 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1830 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Albanian president, Sali Berisha, considers the attack of the Serbians of the Krajina region against the civil population in Zagreb and other cities of Croatia as a criminal act with dangerous consequences to the spillover of the conflict in that zone.

Showing understanding for the right of Croatia concerning the reestablishment of its sovereignty all over the Croatian territory, the Albanian president, Sali Berisha, said that the prevention of the further escalation of the conflict is indispensable, says the spokesman for the president of the republic.

Klestil Promises Support, Views Kosovo Issue

AU0305170795

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 2 May carries a seven-minute report on the speech made by Austrian President Thomas Klestil to the Albanian parliament on 2 May. The report contains recorded excerpts of Klestil speaking in German with superimposed Albanian translation.

Praising Albania's 22 March 1992 elections, Klestil says that "the Albanian people chose democracy, the market economy, and a state governed by the rule of law," which "enabled us Austrians to renew the ancient friendly relations between our two countries and peoples."

Promising to support Albanian in its efforts at integrating into Europe, Klestil says that since the fall of communism Albania has shown that "it is part of Europe and is trying to become quickly integrated into European structures." "Austria supports these goals" and "hopes that Albania will soon occupy the place it deserves in the process of integration into the European peoples and nations."

Noting the need to "firmly support these countries in becoming involved in European integration," Klestil says it is important to "open up to the central, eastern, and southeastern European peoples more concrete prospects to participate in a bigger Europe." He says he hopes that in the near future, "talks to expand their relations will resume between Albania and the European Union."

Talking about the situation in the region, Klestil says: "The terrible war that has been going on near us—in the former Yugoslavia—for three years is the greatest challenge to security in Europe. We share with Albania the concern about dangerous developments in the region that are related to it. From the start, Austria has mediated for a just and lasting solution to the conflict. This solution should be based on well-known principles, on respect for human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities, and on resolutely rejecting ethnic cleansing and the changing of borders by force. That is why Austria has frequently condemned the continuing suppression of the Albanians in Kosova, which could result in an uncontrolled development of this conflict. Austria is of the opinion that the solution to the Kosova issue should be an integral part of any general solution to bring peace to the former Yugoslavia. The rights of the Albanian population in Kosova should be reestablished on the basis of OSCE principles. We are convinced that only immediate talks can prevent the explosion of the powder keg that is Kosova."

Berisha, Klestil View Relations, Cooperation

AU0305170395 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 May 95

[Report by Amalia Dhamo]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference, both Albanian President Sali Berisha and Austrian President Thomas Klestil declared that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries will be strengthened in the future in all fields: political, economic, cultural, and military—as well as in other fields of common interest.

President Berisha considered the visit to Albania of President Klestil and the delegation accompanying him to be a historic visit within the traditional friendly relations between the two countries. Albania and Albanians have always found, and still find, in Austria a precious friend and a traditional ally. President Klestil's visit comes at an important time for bilateral cooperation and constitutes a powerful impetus to this cooperation and a contribution and assistance to our efforts toward Albania's integration into Europe, Berisha said.

After thanking President Klestil and the Austrian Government for the assistance granted Albania and Albanians in their difficult period, which is the highest per capita that Austria has granted to any other country in Europe or beyond, Berisha considered Austria's political support in establishing the law-governed state, a market economy, and Albania's integration into Europe to be of primary importance.

Regarding developments in the Balkans and the inviolable rights of the peoples who live on the peninsula, our viewpoints are the same, Berisha said. The Albanian question has had, and still has, the most complete attention in Austria's chancelleries.

After thanking President Berisha for his hospitality, President Klestil told reporters that the composition of the delegation accompanying him indicates what importance Austria gives to relations with new Albania in the political, economic, and cultural spheres.

We are following Albania's progress in the entire spectrum of current developments with great interest, and we express our pleasure that Albania fulfills all the conditions for being accepted as a member with full rights of

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the Council of Europe, Klestil declared. We will be Albania's advocate on its road of integration into Europe. Austria will support with all its might Albania's demand to be accepted in the Central Europe Initiative, as well as its association into the EU, Klestil stated.

The talks started here will be boosted further during the visit that President Berisha will make to Austria in the future, Klestil concluded.

The two presidents then answered reporters' questions.

Klestil Promises Support for Reconstruction

AU0305125595 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 3 May 95 p 4

[Article by Burkhard Bischof: "Austria Supports Reconstruction of Albania"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tirana—[Passage omitted] Klestil also stressed that Austria was having "very friendly feelings" toward the new Albania. "We are trying to help reconstruct the country. And we would like to cooperate much more closely with Albania, especially in the sphere of the economy."

President Klestil pointed out that Austria's aid for the Balkan country is "higher per capita for the Albanian people than for any other country." However, the high-ranking economic delegation that accompanied Klestil to Albania and was headed by Economics Chamber President Leopold Maderthaner proved that the purpose of the visit was not solely to discuss relief aid. Austrian companies want to participate, mainly in the development of Albanian's infrastructure, which is in a disastrous state almost five years after the great changes. [passage omitted]

In his address to the parliament in Tirana, Klestil stated: "The collapse of communism and the introduction of democracy have created the opportunity for a new beginning in eastern and southeastern Europe. At the same time, it has become obvious that the disastrous heritage of that period has not been overcome with the beginning of the new era. Only gradually have all Europeans become aware of the terrible damage caused by decades of dictatorship in their countries."

Klestil promised his Albanian hosts that Austria will advocate, within the EU, the integration of the reformist European countries into the union. "I am convinced that there is no better investment in Europe's future than sustained support for the reform process in the new democracies, and to bring these countries closer to European integration." [passage omitted]

Klestil's delegation also included Foreign Minister Alois Mock, who made his last trip abroad in this capacity. With his Albanian counterpart Alfred Serreqi, Mock discussed mainly the fresh escalation of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

In his address, Klestil asked the Republic of Albania to exert a moderating influence on the political leadership of the Albanian population in the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and to make an important contribution to efforts for conciliation between the Slavo-Macedonian majority and ethnic Albanians.

Bank Governor Luniku Interviewed on Policies

AU0405105295 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 3 May 95 p 8

[Interview with Central Bank Governor Kristaq Luniku by Milto Baka; place and date not given: "Monetary Policy Is the Cornerstone for Developing the Market Economy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Baka] The banks are part of the financial system being created as part of the economic reform. How would you assess the present banking system?

[Luniku] I would emphasize from the start that there can be no economic development without a suitable banking system. We are a country that embarked upon the market economy three years ago, and of course went through an extraordinary period of not only economic but psychological isolation. Nevertheless, if you look at the progress of the last three years, you see that the Albanians have adapted well to the market economy. The banks control the money supply, and therefore possess exceptional potential for economic life. We are at present working on the legal basis of an institutionalized two-tier banking system. We have created a central bank whose aim is to be independent and whose main purpose is to maintain price stability, i.e. to control the money supply and inflation without neglecting other functions, such as issuing money under the regulatory supervision of the banking system, etc. Monetary policy is one of the cornerstones of the development of the market economy, which must be harmonized as well as possible with fiscal policy. Both of these must have a single objective; otherwise, economic development becomes disoriented. It must be borne in mind that where there is no monetary stability, the budget deficit runs quite out of control, because inflation will be high and interest rates will be high. This means that more money is required to cover the budget deficit. I would say that there are evident achievements in this field. We started with an inflation rate of 400-500 percent and by the end of 1993 this had fallen to 33 percent. By the end of 1994, it was 16 percent, compared to a planned level of 24 percent. This year, we have forecast an inflation rate of about 10 percent. This is a very ambitious aim. At a time when many states have problems with inflation, we have also improved the instruments of monetary policy, which do not depend on us alone, but on circumstances. You cannot immediately use indirect methods when you do not have a developed market in capital and a stock exchange. At present, we are accomplishing a transition from direct to indirect instruments of monetary policy.

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[Baka] How are the secondary banks responding as you enforce this policy?

[Luniku] The theory of privatization states that a private enterprise is managed very much better than a state enterprise. Thus, as a central bank, alongside the Finance Ministry, the government, the World Bank, and the IMF, we are concentrating entirely on the plan for privatizing the banks. As is well known, they inherited a portfolio of bad debts because during the years of the centralized socialist economy, credit decisions were not in the hands of the banks. Whether an investment was effective or not was a budget decision. Meanwhile, the secondary banks have problems in their financial administration policies—in their management of accounts, computerization, and automation. Nevertheless, if you look at all the credit indicators for the economy, you can perceive their efforts to support economic development.

[Baka] Do the failures to repay short-term loans to the secondary banks worry you?

[Luniku] I think this is a worry for all of us, for the merchant banks and for their owners, i.e. the government. We know that loans that have not been repaid on time figure in all areas of the banks' activities. This is because the granting of these loans was ill-considered. A borrower must also never imagine that his money simply belongs to the bank. On the contrary, it belongs to depositors. It is therefore quite illogical to cancel these loans, because the banks got this money from third persons, and in order to forgive these debts, the government would have to give money to the banks. The fact is that the government has been striving for three years to run as tight a budget as possible, in order to keep inflation as low as possible. In other words there is no way in which the government can pay interest to the banks.

[Baka] The legal sanctions for loan repayments must therefore be tightened and enforced.

[Luniku] A bill is being drafted on the repayment and insurance of loans, and on bankruptcies and on how the courts will handle them.

[Baka] Have you forecast the effect of the issue of privatization bonds on the financial market?

[Luniku] The privatization bonds may be traded, but it must be borne in mind that they are for the large-scale participation of the population in privatization for a short period of time, during which state property will be turned into private property as fast as possible. Their convertibility may have consequences in the monetary sense. The experience of Russia shows that the effects on inflation of the trade in privatization bonds (which were of much lower value than those being distributed in our country) were negligible in the context of the existing inflation, which was 2,000-3,000 percent. We are devoting attention to this problem because the process itself necessarily generates a little inflation. After these privatization bonds are turned into stocks, we will necessarily be obliged to create a legally based investment fund market as a catalyst in the mass privatization process and a first step toward the creation of stock exchanges. The government will put this bill before parliament very soon. Two other bills are also being prepared, one on bonds and another on the bond market.

[Baka] No private bank has opened yet. Are you not rather jealous, as a central bank?

[Luniku] This is a fair question. At present, we have one private bank, the Dardania Bank, and two joint banks: the Arab-Albanian Islamic Bank and the Italian-Albanian Bank.

In 1994, we drafted procedures for licensing banks with the aim of creating a banking system that would support the developing market economy. This system must be competitive and must involve itself in the foreign currency market and in a system of payments. It must give high-quality service so that it will have customers in the full sense of the word and will establish mutual trust. We are at present aiming to restructure the existing state banks and to privatize them. We are not at all jealous about the founding of new banks. On the contrary, we welcome every new bank.

[Baka] Of course you welcome them.

[Luniku] We are preparing to encourage them. In 1994, we drafted some licensing procedures that were approved by the central bank, because it is the central bank that gives banks licenses to operate in Albania. Under the 1994 regulations, the minimum capital for a private bank must be between $3 million and $6 million. Meanwhile, a document has been drafted by the Bank of Albania in cooperation with the U.S. Treasury Department, a document which simplifies the procedure for licensing private banks in Albania and according to which the capital of banks must be between $1 million and $2 million. Our aim is for these banks to be transparent and safe, because our supervision will ensure that individuals' deposits will be secure.

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Hogg Praises Economic Intentions, Ends Visit

AU0305181795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today Douglas Hogg, minister of state at the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, completed his brief visit to Bulgaria. He said that his three-day visit was for familiarization purposes. The British visitor assessed positively the intentions embodied in the government's program in relation to the economic reform and the transition to a market economy. He particularly stressed that the inflow of foreign investment, especially from Britain, will largely depend on successful economic development.

Zhelev Explains Land Act Veto to Political Group

AU0405075595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Zhelev invited the leadership of the Democratic Left parliamentary group to a meeting today. Krasimir Premyanov, the group's leader, was unable to attend because he had a previous engagement. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the reasons the president returned the Land Act amendments to parliament for further debate. Our reporter Silviya Velikova has the details of the meeting:

[Begin Velikova recording] The representatives of the parliamentary majority and President Zhelev failed to reach a mutual understanding at the meeting. The Land Act amendments will give impetus to the agrarian reform. They establish regulations for dividing farmland and restoring ownership titles—this is the view of the deputies of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and the coalition. The president's motives for returning the Land Act amendments for further debate cannot be substantiated professionally. Such were the words of Agricultural Commission Chairman Todor Todorov.

Despite this, the parliamentary majority will pay heed to the appeal made to them today by the head of state, and will seriously consider the motives appended to his decree on returning the Land Act amendments to the National Assembly.

Stefan Gaytandzhiev suspected that the president's delaying veto was connected with the pursuit of certain domestic political goals. He also claimed it was an attempt to restore capitalist relations to the countryside.

The Democratic Left deputies today also asked for more frequent meetings between the president and the parliamentary majority. According to them, this would avert possible confrontations between the institutions on important issues. However, no compromise was reached at today's meeting. According to the deputies, the reason for this is that the meeting took place post facto, after the president had imposed his veto. According to Gaytandzhiev, the meeting was held only today because the president had failed to accede to the deputies' request for an earlier meeting.

The leadership of the Democratic Left parliamentary group had not officially sought an earlier meeting with the president, Presidential Spokesman Valentin Stoyanov declared. He said that today's meeting was an expression of President Zhelev's readiness to seek a common language with the ruling majority on important questions. He added that politics' other name is compromise, compromise for the purpose of defending the interests of as many people as possible. [end recording]

Ilinden Leader Urges Europe To Unite Macedonia

AU0305181495 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 25 Apr 95 p 7

[Interview with Yordan Kostadinov, leader of the illegal Ilinden United Macedonian Organization, by Nikolay Golemanov at a gathering to commemorate patriot Yane Sandanski at Rozhen Monastery on 24 April: "In the Future, Europe Should Unite Macedonia and Ensure Peace in the Balkans"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kostadinov] ...I do not want to talk to you because you write such libels against the Macedonians. You are such liars that I am simply ashamed to speak to you....

[Golemanov] Everything you say will be faithfully reported....

[Kostadinov] For five years now, what the press has published has been libels, lies, manipulations, aspersions, and insults.... We consider your behavior criminal. We are simply ashamed.

[Golemanov] I do not recall ever libeling or slandering anyone.

[Kostadinov] I am not talking about you personally, but about what we have—materials, we have materials available. You have no tolerance, no sense of reality, no objectivity. You simply base your views on some kind of fanaticism, some kind of national fascism that.... You look at Macedonians as objects, as animals that you can manipulate, assimilate, and discriminate against. What are we to say? Tell me what we are supposed to talk to you about. Our conversation should be on a human basis.

[Golemanov] Yes, precisely, on a human basis: Did you encounter any difficulties in getting to the gathering, were any obstacles placed in your way?

[Kostadinov] Discipline was strict, because we had to come in cars to the village. We took some boards with us, with which we were planning to construct a kind of portable speaker's platform. Obviously, tension is being created, and now, with this mass police presence....

[Golemanov] Your organization has been accused on numerous occasions of being financed from Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. What can you tell us about this?

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[Kostadinov] What can we say? How can we prove whether or not we receive financial support?

[Golemanov] I am not asking to prove it; just to say yes or no.

[Kostadinov] We have neither asked for money, nor do we want to ask for it, and if we do ask, they will not give us any. Why? This is a question of tolerance between states, at a state level, to avoid creating tension. We have not asked for money, nor will we do so. We get by. We have funds. We will go and do some construction work or sell something. They, we, set something aside from our earnings. We have nothing against someone's making a private donation. Do your organizations and parties survive without money? Tell me who finances your newspaper!

[Golemanov] That is well known and, in any case, is outside the subject we are discussing. How many members does your organization have?

[Kostadinov] I cannot answer....

[Golemanov] I ask this because Bulgarian organizations and parties announce their memberships. Some exaggerate; others understate the figures—but they do announce them....

[Kostadinov] We have decided not to give any information about our membership and I cannot go against this decision.

[Golemanov] Give an approximate figure. Is it, let us say, two or three thousand, or less?

[Kostadinov] Look here, why should we know how many thousand members we have? We are not many, but there are enough of us to defend the national rights of the Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia [part of geographical Macedonia within Bulgaria] and in Bulgaria. There are enough of us.

[Golemanov] You are accused of separatism....

[Kostadinov] What does this word separatism mean. Can you translate it for me?

[Golemanov] Separatism is a desire to detach part of the territory of Bulgaria and attach it to another country.

[Kostadinov] That is how you see it, but it is not clear to me. Explain to me how we can detach a piece of territory and attach it to something else?

[Golemanov] I am not saying that you will do it, but you are often accused of wanting it to happen.

[Kostadinov] I already told you that I find it shameful to speak to you, because you are full of lies, slander, and manipulations....

[Golemanov] I asked a question. It was not a lie or slander. Do you categorically state that you have no separatist desires, or not?

[Kostadinov] Desire... Our organization's activities do not include such matters, nor is it embodied in our program. Anyway, we cannot demand it. As far as separation goes, this is a matter for the great powers—for European diplomacy, and for the Balkan states. If they decide on any merging of territory, it will be by peaceful means. You know about the 1975 Helsinki Conference, which decided that the joining of a piece of territory to another country may take place by peaceful means through negotiations. This is not part of our obligations, but it will happen....

[Golemanov] The Helsinki Conference decided that the borders in Europe are final and immutable.

[Kostadinov] Immutable, but they may be changed by peaceful means.

[Golemanov] No, there was no mention of this.

[Kostadinov] It is mentioned. Had I known, I would have brought it with me to show you. However, this is a matter for European diplomacy and the Balkan states. If they decide, they will do it, which means that there may be separatism. Separatism is what happened in 1912, when you split us into three. You are the separatists, not we. You detached Pirin Macedonia and joined it to Bulgaria; then gave the other two parts to the Serbs and Greeks. You are separatists, and now you should cure yourselves of your separatism. In the future, Europe should unite Macedonia and ensure peace in the Balkans. Is there anything finer than this?

[Golemanov] Did you take any steps to get permission to speak at the gathering today?

[Kostadinov] We applied to the mayor and also submitted the necessary documents to the district court. We have no reply from the court banning us, so we have come here to make our presence known... According to the law on demonstrations, rallies, ceremonies, and gatherings, it is not necessary to get a permit for such a gathering because it is neither a rally nor a demonstration, we are not obstructing anyone, and so forth. These are traditional popular events. The law on rallies and meetings—to say nothing of the European documents on human and minority rights—say that such traditional meetings can take place, that such events can be held, and so forth. We are a legitimate organization under international law and international accords. Your organizations are illegal....

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[Golemanov] Under Bulgarian laws, you are an illegal organization.

[Kostadinov] Bulgarian laws.... The Constitution, your new Constitution, states that you must abide by international law. You, Bulgaria, do not stand above everyone else. You cannot dictate to the world how to move. Your possibilities are too small to solve this problem.

[Golemanov] Are you a Bulgarian citizen or not?

[Kostadinov] I am a Bulgarian citizen.

[Golemanov] Why then do you keep saying "you, Bulgaria" and "you Bulgarians"?

[Kostadinov] How do you look upon us, the Macedonians and members of Ilinden? You regard us as black sheep! What do we have in common with you?

[Golemanov] First and foremost, as Bulgarian citizens, who....

[Kostadinov] As Bulgarian citizens? Fine, let us sit down together at the table and talk calmly. However, you always want to look at things differently....

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Foreign Ministry Opposes Use of Force in Croatia

LD0305205395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, May 3 (TANJUG)—In a statement in connection with Croatia's aggression on western Slavonija, the Czech Foreign Ministry said Wednesday that the use of armed force complicates the search for a solution.

The Czech Republic believes that the choice should be political means which would lead all interested (?parties) to a solution, said the ministry commenting the latest Croatian aggression on Serb Krajina to the national CTK News Agency.

Serb Krajina sources said that about 400 serb civilians were killed and about 6,000 forced to flee from their homes in the Croatian assault which began on May 1.

Defense Minister Cited on Troops

LD0405131095 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 4 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] All of our soldiers in Croatia are, according to the latest information this morning, alive and well, said Defense Minister Vilem Holan earlier today. Marika Taborska is on the line with more details:

[Taborska] Minister Holan said that both sides, Croatian and Serb, violated the so-called separation zone. Some of the positions guarded by Czech troops were hit, and one of our (?OT-90) armored transportation vehicles was destroyed by fire. The commanders of our battalion and the commander of the entire Sector South, General [Rostislav] Kotil, are at present holding talks with both warring parties.

Minister Holan also noted that our unit is fully subordinated to the command of the peacekeeping forces, which would also be the case in the event of its withdrawal from Croatian territory. Holan said that his ministry is in possession of emergency plans for a withdrawal. Asked by Czech radio in what situation these plans would be used, Minister Holan said: I do not think they will be used.

Proposal To Abolish Payments Accord With Slovakia

LD0305145095 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today the government tasked Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik with drafting a proposal to abolish the payments agreement with Slovakia. Jitka Kucerova reports:

[Kucerova] Cancellation of the agreement has to be approved by parliament, and then notification has to be given of its decision. That is followed by a three-month notice period. Under the government's decision, Minister Kocarnik is to draw up the proposal for the abolition of the payments agreement with Slovakia without delay. [passage omitted]

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FRY's Jovanovic Briefs Meciar, Schenk on Croatia

AU0305204395 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 3 May 95

[Report by Zoran Jevdjovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic today held talks with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk in the Slovak Government's headquarters in Bratislava. During the two and one-half hour talks, they discussed in great detail all aspects of the Yugoslav crisis and the chances of its being solved peacefully.

The Slovak prime minister has accepted all of the elements of the Yugoslav stand and spoke in favor of recognizing equal rights to self-determination to all constituent peoples of the previous Yugoslavia. At the same time, he condemned the sanctions as a form of unjust pressure. They also discussed bilateral relations, considering wide opportunities for cultural and economic cooperation of the two close countries.

Here is how Minister Jovanovic assessed today's talks:

[Begin Jovanovic recording] In brief, my assessment is that everyone, including Slovakia, is becoming aware of both the denouement of the crisis coming closer and the emergence of new dangers and new escalations. This is how they had initiated this visit. The talks showed that Slovakia is strongly in favor of peace, that it opposes all attempts aimed at straining the situation, regardless of what the reasons are and regardless of who it is done by, and that Slovakia has an objective, balanced approach to the Yugoslav crisis. This is also reflected by the fact that Slovakia has never condemned the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] for any aggression, that it highly values the rights of all peoples of the earlier Yugoslavia to self-determination, and that it has correctly assessed that the key to solving the Yugoslav crisis is in the hands of local Yugoslav subjects and that, for that reason, it should become more independent of the dangerous influence and interests of foreign powers and factors, especially those that, objectively speaking, are not interested in a speedy end to the Yugoslav crisis. [end recording]

[Jevdjovic] Of course, special attention during today's talks was paid to the brutal aggression of Croatia on the Republic of Serb Krajina. Here is what Jovanovic said in that respect:

[Begin Jovanovic recording] We have briefed our collocutors on the main elements of the stand expressed yesterday in the communique by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We told our collocutors that this was not an isolated act of aggression by Croatia but a continual policy of aggression by that country against the Serbian people in Krajina and against the Serbian people as a whole. [end recording]

After the talks with Prime Minister Meciar, Minister Jovanovic held lengthy talks with Slovak Foreign Minister Schenk. They discussed in great detail the views concerning the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, especially in view of the fact that Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic is expected in Bratislava the day after tomorrow.

At the end, Slovakia used this opportunity to confirm its full support for the need for the sides to the conflict to be treated equally and the necessity for the soonest possible lifting of the sanctions, the only possible step in the present situation. It also stressed that this could help countries from the Danube basin, including Slovakia, which is affected by the embargo against Yugoslavia itself.

Ministry Criticizes U.S. Congressman's Statements

LD0305210795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ministry of Education, via TASR, strongly protests against declarations about Slovak history made by Tom Lantos, a U.S. congressman of Hungarian origin, during his recent visit to Slovakia.

The statement of the ministry goes on to say that Tom Lantos has also spoken untruthfully and disrespectfully about some alleged activities of Education Minister Eva Slavkovska in connection with President Jozef Tiso's time in office.

The ministry considers the U.S. politician's lectures, which he recently delivered in Slovakia, to be a serious violation of diplomatic correctness and interference in Slovakia's internal affairs.

Accusation of Double Standard

AU0405144095 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 3 May 95 p 3

[Commentary by Miroslav Sasky: "Congressman's Hidden Threats"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tom Lantos, Democratic Party congressman from California, honored our republic with a visit last week. As his very name suggests, he is not a native American but comes from the lowlands to the south of the Danube.

Even though he left his native country more than 50 years ago, in the United States he is regarded as one of the few acknowledged experts on developments in Central and East Europe. No wonder, given that the average American scarcely knows the difference between Slovakia and Slovenia, and hardly any inhabitant of the "country of unlimited possibilities" would know whether Bratislava is the capital of Slovakia, Poland, or Croatia. Tom Lantos is an exception in this regard. He has at least basic knowledge of European geography and,

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apparently, also receives fresh information from Hungary. Thanks to this information, as a certain Slovak daily has written, he has managed to influence the opinion of U.S. congressmen and reverse their vote on extending most-favored-nation status to Romania because, according to Lantos's information, "in the sphere of human rights, a great deal is not in order" in that country. Not a single word was said about the Hungarian minority being at issue, the escalating demands of which are not meeting with success in Romania. But who would not believe an acclaimed expert? Especially if he left Central Europe only relatively recently!

The words of the almost 70-year-old former Budapest resident have also aroused attention in Slovakia. Some enthusiastically welcomed them, others qualified them as gross interference in the internal affairs of Slovakia and evaluated them as "gross rudeness," depending on how which segment of Slovak society and the political scene views the activity of the first Slovak president, Dr. Jozef Tiso. According to Mr. Lantos, it is precisely the evaluation of Tiso that is one of the criteria according to which the West and the United States assess us. Bearing in mind Tom Lantos's previous activity with regard to Romania, his reservations can be understood as a disguised diplomatic threat. Apparently, we do have the right to reassess the communist interpretation of our history, but only within boundaries determined by someone else. This is not common practice, and we could retort that examples of when the United States should be wearing sackcloth and ashes (but is not) are more than plentiful. Yet this is the Americans' own affair, and we have no right to interfere. Nonetheless, the same should apply also vice versa. When a U.S. expert on Central European issues loses control [neudrzi sa] and starts wasting his energy on protests against our efforts to objectively assess our own history, he must be asked where he was when the residents of his native Hungary were extolling Horthy, their admiral without a fleet. Why did he not raise his indignant voice and warning finger then? Why did he not notify the U.S. Congress of this? Possibly only because no circus performance by Marianek's "humanists" competed with the glorification of Horthy.

Joint Agreement Signed With Netherlands

AU0305135695 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 29 Apr 95 p 2

[TASR report: "Memorandum of Understanding; Slovak-Dutch Military Agreement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Representatives of the Ministries of Defense of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Slovak Republic signed a memorandum of understanding on the protection of exchanged confidential information in Bratislava yesterday. The document represents an important step toward enhancing confidence in exchanging confidential information and will permit more extensive cooperation between the two countries' ministries of defense. At the same time, it is a specific result of the program of bilateral cooperation in the intentions of the Partnership for Peace program.

FRG To Extend Technical Aid, Training

AU0305135595 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 29 Apr 95 p 2

[Article by "ah": "Against Nuclear Smuggling; Germans Will Assist Our Police"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Reinhardt Theilieg, the head of a German Interior Ministry delegation, said yesterday at the close of four days of expert talks that Germany would extend technical aid to the Slovak Police worth several million German marks. The Border Police and the Criminal Police will obtain technical devices for the detection of drugs and nuclear materials. This assistance will be provided over a period of four years. At the same time, the German side is preparing training courses for our people in using the information system used in Germany in uncovering organized crime.

Progress in Liquidating Military Equipment

LD0305141995 Bratislava Rozhlasova S[illegible]ica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 G[illegible] May 95

[Report by Peter Toman from Trencin in western Slovakia]

[FBIS Translated Text] A nine-member international inspection team dominated by French experts this time checked another batch of military equipment that was scrapped and being kept at the local Military Equipment Maintenance Establishment [vojensky opravarensky podnik] today. In the final and third stage of the liquidation, which started on 15 February and ended today, 33 OT-64 and 34 OT-65 armored transporters were first dismantled and then cut into pieces here. This puts an end to scrapping this type of equipment in Slovakia.

Since November 1992, when this process started, a total of 728 armored transporters were scrapped in Trencin.

Another phase of military equipment liquidation is due to be launched on 4 May under the supervision of the same inspection team. This time, 45 tanks of the T-55A type will be scrapped. By 13 November of this year, when the last stage of the liquidation will definitely end, Slovakia will either have to liquidate or sell 85 tanks so that the numbers of tanks we have is in compliance with the Vienna disarmament agreements.

Meciar on Political Situation in Country

MS0305115795 London FINANCIAL TIMES in English 3 May 95 p 20

[Report on interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Anthony Robinson; place and date not given]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vladimir Meciar, prime minister of Slovakia, is one of the great survivors of post-communist politics. Last September, he swept back to power after six months in reluctant opposition, with the support of 35 per cent of the electorate, more than his three main rivals combined.

But after five turbulent years in which he has been thrice removed from office by parliamentary manoeuvres and twice re-elected, he has gained in self-confidence. "Many people have seen the results and changed their minds about me. You cannot fight with a man who is accepted by one third of voters as part of the family," he says.

But while Mr Meciar has proved the strength of his support, he remains a controversial figure with a reputation for riding roughshod over allies and opponents. There remain doubts whether he can create a modern democratic state ready to enter an enlarged European Union by the end of the decade.

It was Mr Meciar's insistence that Slovakia's 5.5m people should seek their own destiny which first brought victory for his Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in 1992. He led the country to independence in January 1993 in the "velvet divorce" from the Czech Republic.

Two and a half years later, the peaceful division of the former Czechoslovak state is seen by both sides as a positive development. The Czech locomotive has been set free to power its way to prosperity; the Slovaks have gained the first chance to nurture their culture, build a state—and take responsibility for their own failures and successes.

Economically, Slovakia has built a strong central bank that has reinforced fiscal discipline and underpinned a strengthening currency. The economy is now doing much better—although this is due primarily to export demand for products of the revamped steel, petrochemicals and other basic industries built up during the communist years.

Politically, Mr Meciar gained international kudos in March by signing a bilateral "stability pact" with Hungary which guarantees the human rights of the ethnic Hungarian minority in return for recognition of the existing borders.

Even his political enemies, of which he has accumulated a great number, recognise him as a natural politician and the most powerful political force in the new state. A surefooted vote-puller who has won every election he contested, he works obsessively hard to master all the details of policy.

But he is equally relentless in his attacks on political enemies and personal opponents. Typically, his first move on returning to power was to settle accounts with former allies who had turned against him and mount a ruthless purge of key institutions. He seized control over the secret police from President Michal Kovac, the most noted of his former allies and appointed Mr Ivan Lexa, a sworn enemy of the president as his new security boss.

The determination to get the secret police under his control, and continuous attempts to undermine the financial independence of the independent media, worry opposition politicians, the intelligentsia, and western diplomats. However, Mr Meciar accuses the previous government of keeping similar tabs on him. "They've had their fun and I accepted their attacks on me without retaliation because my work is public and if I created a scandal there would be no point in hiding it," he says.

Since regaining power he has reversed much of the work of the previous coalition government, with deep cuts in the second round of the popular mass privatisation programme. He has also become embroiled in a fierce dispute with two allies: the Slovak Nationalist party, his xenophobic coalition partner which is angry that he signed the pact with Hungary without its agreement; and the leftwing Workers Union which has become restive at its support being taken for granted.

Having alienated many of his former allies, Mr Meciar is trying to build a new power base among the young and ambitious. "My task is to concentrate around myself as many young people as possible and create a new political class," he says.

His detractors fear that he will hold Slovakia back in the old authoritarian mould. The essence of his political popularity is his appeal to the sense of injustice and resentment felt by many Slovaks, especially those in the small villages and industrial towns of central Slovakia and the economically depressed heavy engineering and arms factory towns of the Vah valley.

"In the early years of this century my grandfather was beaten for speaking Slovak," he says, recalling the days when Hungarians ruled the country and Slovaks were mainly farm labourers or construction workers. Even as late as 1968, Hungarian troops were used to occupy much of Slovakia during the Warsaw Pact invasion to suppress the "Prague Spring", he adds.

His decision to end the dispute with Hungary six weeks ago suggests that he is prepared to clear the decks for closer integration into Europe. But under Mr Meciar's leadership, achievement of this aim will always remain fraught with uncertainty.

Seized Ammunition Departs Again for India

AU0305131895 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Apr 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "fa, od, CTK": "Indians Mistaken for Dudayev Supporters; ALAK Company Had Landed in Mineralniye Vody in Search of Cheaper Fuel"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava/Moscow—An aircraft of the Russian ALAK company with 33 metric tons of 155-mm caliber artillery shells on board left the

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Bratislava airport for Bombay at 0945 local yesterday. The artillery shells will be used in tests of the Slovak Zuzana howitzer in India.

This was confirmed to PRAVDA yesterday by the son of Yuriy Latariya, director of the ALAK company's Slovak subsidiary. He refused to tell us which international corridor the aircraft used, but it is very likely that it will complete the Bratislava-Bombay route today, without a stopover.

CTK reported yesterday that 33 metric tons of ammunition are on board, although previous reports referred to 40 metric tons. However, the Il-76 aircraft has a maximum capacity of 35 metric tons of cargo, which means that the Czech agency's source is closer to the truth.

Representatives of the ALAK company still claim that all of the aircraft's documents were in order. "The aircraft did not have to land in Mineralniye Vody at all," Mr. Latariya Jr. told us. "We made a stopover there because of cheaper fuel—that is, for technical reasons."

In his opinion, the Ilyushin had been detained there because some local customs officer got terrified. "We had a permit for a technical stopover for the purpose of refueling," Mr. Latariya Jr. stressed. "That stopover was a mistake," he added. [passage omitted]

New Construction, Public Works Minister Appointed

LD0305133895 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 2 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Michal Kovac gave Jan Mraz, minister of construction and public works, his letter of appointment at the Primate's Palace in Bratislava today. The president said that the public expects the creation of this ministry to have a positive effect in terms of a reduction in unemployment. Jan Mraz gave assurances that he will do everything to ensure that the Ministry of Construction and Public Works implements the government's policy statement.

SNS Opposes Treaty, Makes Personnel Changes

AU0405102695 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 May 95 p 2

[Article by Rudolf Delincak: "The Slovak National Party Considers the Slovak-Hungarian Treaty Shameful and Will Vote Against It"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Cadca—The 29 April meeting of the Slovak National Party [SNS] Central Council at Cadca was marked by a unanimity of views and a calm atmosphere. One of the outcomes of the meeting is that National Council of the Slovak Republic deputies for the SNS will vote against the Slovak-Hungarian treaty, which they consider shameful in the form in which it had been signed. The SNS will insist that the vote on the treaty be public, with each deputy standing up in front of television cameras and saying "yes" or "no." According to SNS Chairman Jan Slota, the treaty leads to the disintegration of the Slovak Republic, and it is no coincidence that, shortly after its signing, demands were made for the repeal of the Benes decrees. The SNS regards the Komarno rally as an act of high treason and preparation for a coup d'etat. Jan Slota described the speeches by Slovak politicians of Hungarian nationality at the rally as expressions bordering on terrorist activity. In this context, he drew attention to the amendment to the Penal Code proposed by the SNS, which, had it been in force, would prevent efforts at disintegration.

Furthermore, the SNS Central Council passed a resolution on the initiative of Democratic Union deputies to dismiss Education Minister Eva Slavkovska. It expressed full support for the SNS minister and rejected all attacks on her as unfounded. Jan Slota said that Democratic Union deputies should consider themselves lucky because the minister is a Slovak at the right place.

Jan Slota qualified statements made by U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos as gross rudeness and expressed surprise at the attention he received from official quarters, including governmental ones.

The SNS Central Council recalled Juraj Molnar from the post of SNS deputy chairman and elected Jaroslav Honzo a new member of the SNS Presidium. Z. Tvrda was replaced in the post of SNS central secretary by Magda Svecova. The SNS believes that the SNS Secretariat in Trstena, which was devastated by fire, was the target of a terrorist attack, whose consistent and quick investigation it demands.

HZDS Discusses Situation, Appoints Officials

AU0305165895 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 May 95 p 1

[Article by Jan Fule: "Even After the Meeting of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia National Presidium, Ivan Lexa Remains Both Slovak Information Service Director and a Member of Parliament"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hrinova—In the debate at the meeting of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] National Presidium at Hrinova on 29 April, members of the HZDS Presidium rejected the claim that there is a personal problem between the movement's chairman, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, and President Michal Kovac. As HZDS Deputy Chairman Augustin Marian Huska told a news conference on 29 April, the personification of the relationship is very dangerous because the problem concerns the president and he government as a whole.

Members of the HZDS National Presidium heard the report on the domestic political situation by the HZDS chairman, in which he stated, among other things, that Slovakia's image abroad has substantially improved, as has the attitude of "official bodies" toward Slovakia.

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Even after the HZDS Presidium meeting, Slovak Information Service [SIS] Director Ivan Lexa remains a deputy, while his HZDS membership has been suspended. As HZDS Deputy Chairman Sergej Kozlik stressed at the briefing, "this does not run counter to present legislation." Should the passage of the law on the conflict of interests change this, the whole affair will be "adequately settled," according to Kozlik. Asked by NARODNA OBRODA whether [U.S. Congressman] Tom Lantos's visit to Slovakia had been mentioned in the debate, particularly his talk with Vladimir Meciar, in which he commented critically on the acts of some members of the government coalition who defend the wartime Slovak state and its president, Sergej Kozlik replied that a certain reserved attitude toward similar manifestations by members of the coalition had been indicated in the course of the debate. He stressed, furthermore, that each step by a government member, regardless of his party affiliation, shapes our image abroad. The HZDS is aware of this responsibility, according to his words.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 2 May on pages 1 and 2 carries a 200-word report by J. Kroslak on the HZDS National Presidium meeting. The report mentions that, "at the outset, the Presidium dealt with personnel issues. It elected Gustav Krajci, currently chairman of the Spisska Nova Ves District Office, as new HZDS secretary and, on the basis of the Presidium's recommendation, HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar appointed Engineer Milan Sedlacek from Trencin as head of the HZDS Office. The Presidium also elected its 17-member Board."]

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Prime Minister on Major Domestic, Foreign Issues

AU0305124895 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Apr 95 p 11

[Interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "The Country Wants To Live in Tranquility"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Pinter] In connection with the latest forced burdens, do you accept the assumption that the majority of Hungarian society does not understand the reasons for the events in the country?

[Horn] I am convinced that the majority knows that these measures were unavoidable. It is more difficult to emotionally identify with them because, with various promises, sacrifices have been asked of the majority too many times. Regardless of the composition of the government, citizens tend not to believe political promises. Our situation is made more difficult by the fact that we have not yet been able to meet people's sense of justice. While the majority has to make sacrifices, the government has not been able to act to regulate those who acquire large assets solely through machinations and without work, diligence, or talent. Preparations for conscious action are under way at the moment. As immorality, rather than legal violation, is often the enemy, we must also count on the beneficial effect of public opinion. We must maintain our dialogue with society, and then we have a chance to be better understood.

[Pinter] The social and economic agreement that was promised by your election campaign has not been achieved. Do you believe that the social dialogue can be continued regardless?

[Horn] The agreement depended on the partners, as well as the government. Even then, we managed to come to a common stance on many issues. The struggle to achieve the agreement was not in vain because it contributed to preserving social peace. The government does not have the means to end the sharp differences between employers and employees. I consider it very important that the sides concerned discuss and accept the political statement submitted at the last session of the interest coordination council, because this will facilitate continuous dialogue.

[Pinter] The election campaign that ended with the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] victory started one year ago. How far do you feel you personally have progressed in implementing the promises?

[Horn] Some people, even from within the MSZP, keep accusing me that I promised everything under the sun in the election campaign. However, this is not true because, even last spring, my Socialist colleagues and I indicated that years would be needed to put things in order. We did not claim that our coming to government would change the situation overnight and living circumstances would be improved. We promised that we would conduct honest politics and we are living up to this. We cannot be accused of trying to divide society on the basis of loyalty shown toward the government. We do not support any groups with illegal or unethical means and we do not interfere in the freedom of the press, either. I am not avoiding your question, I know what I owe the voters. This is what I am working for—and under difficult circumstances from the word go.

[Pinter] A number of people said no to you when you were forming the government. Do you particularly miss any of these people?

[Horn] Making a coalition certainly had its price last summer. The coalition partner objected to a number of my nominees; therefore, they could not be made ministers. I certainly do not wish to offend the current ministers; however, the government's membership is not the same as I originally intended.

[Pinter] Does your own government give you many disappointments?

[Horn] I find it difficult to tolerate when something in the government does not happen the way it was decided. I naturally understand when the ministers come up against unforeseen obstacles. However, we must not allow the government to be diverted by the daily tasks. We need greater coordination and more strength to implement our decisions.

[Pinter] Do you have weak ministers?

[Horn] That is not the point. The state apparatus that we inherited from the previous four years did not consist of the best people, either. It is necessary to change, develop, make them younger, and also to financially reward diligence and talent. We have started on this road but we cannot expect spectacular results overnight.

[Pinter] Are you planning to replace any ministers or state secretaries in the foreseeable future?

[Horn] I have no such intention because the government is beginning to become a team. Assessing the performance of the government and the various ministries after six months proved useful because their work improved significantly as a result of the findings. We will make similar assessments toward the end of the year. I can certainly state that we are past the initial hitches.

[Pinter] This is contradicted by the news that tension is rising between the new finance minister and certain other ministers. What do you know about this?

[Horn] That rather than tension, we have debates led by a sense of responsibility both in the economic cabinet and the government. Finance Minister Lajos Bokros has concrete ideas on how to sort out the economy and finances in the long run. He has to get used to having to defend his ideas in heated debates. However, this must not deter him. Actually, I see no such danger.

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[Pinter] Have you never had any doubt that perhaps you should not, after all, have chosen Bokros?

[Horn] I am convinced that the choice was correct. I very much appreciate the finance minister, respect his abilities, and acknowledge his capacity for work. Due to previous negligence in the Finance Ministry, he has much to make up for.

[Pinter] Do you expect Laszlo Bekesi, Pal Kovacs, or Bela Katona, who have resigned their ministerial positions [finance, welfare, and secret services, respectively], to again play an important political role?

[Horn] This mainly depends on their intentions, I am not dealing with this issue. However, since you mentioned it: The recent statements of mainly Bekesi and Kovacs contradict their previous promise that they would continue to support the government. At the time of the coalition talks, Bekesi made it a condition of his accepting the position that the supervision of privatization must also come under his ministry. It proved to be a mistake to have agreed to this, because the finance minister has very many and rather difficult tasks anyway. Little energy and time was left for important tasks like helping to sort out the banking sector, speed up the reform of state administration, contribute to creating foreign currency laws, and fighting against the illegal economy. These tasks have to be dealt with now instead.

[Horn] Some people believe that the former tensions between the coalition members, namely the Socialists and the Free Democrats, will again be aroused by the debate on the media bill. Can you see this danger?

[Horn] Both parties have learned much from the experiences of the past months. The feuding was stopped long ago, and I strongly hope that it will never return. This does not mean that we do not have any debates, but they can be settled quickly and they do not hinder action. Together with the Free Democrats, we believe that the time has come to speed up codification to be able to submit the bill to Parliament. The Socialists and Free Democrats do not have such differences of views on the media issue, which would carry the danger of crisis.

[Pinter] According to opposition politicians, the views of the six parliamentary parties have come closer in the past five weeks than in the previous five years. Nevertheless, many people feel that the six-party agreement is now in danger. Is it true that you consider it sufficient—mainly because of your parliamentary majority—for the coalition parties to come to an agreement?

[Horn] Neither the MSZP nor the government wishes to sweep aside the practice of six-party coordination. We consider six-party coordination necessary in the case of laws of major importance—and I do not only mean laws that require a two-thirds majority. However, a deadline has to be set to these talks, because a delay in coordination must not cripple the government, as has already happened a number of times. The opposition—more or less understandably—is not interested in allowing the government's affairs to progress. However, this is not at all just a coalition issue. I have reservations against certain sections of the six-party agreement. I cannot accept, for example, that the media law should state that Television Channel 1, Channel 2, and Duna Television should be public service media. Duna Television should indeed be public service but at least one of the other channels must be privatized in some way.

[Pinter] Do you mean at least one of them but perhaps both?

[Horn] That is also possible. The law must not exclude this possibility. In this case, by privatization I do not necessarily mean direct sale: Franchise is also a possible method. Contrary to the relatively widespread view, after privatization, Channel 2, for example, would not broadcast only business news and advertisements. This channel also has to provide public service, religious, educational, minority, and political programs.

[Pinter] Rumor has it that you have already promised a channel to one of the domestic interest groups. It is said that you do not need the six-party agreement because it would not allow you to keep your promise. What is your answer?

[Horn] That the assumption is completely unfounded. I have never promised anything to any interest group, and have not committed myself in any way at all. I can tell you that I am a committed supporter of an international presence, be it in television, banking, or business. However, this cannot be exclusive. Some domestic financial groups that also expect that foreign involvement could play an adequate role in television privatization. The decision will be made for a rather long term.

[Pinter] Do you have any problems in maintaining your contact with the MSZP's parliamentary group?

[Horn] The parliamentary group, just like the party's executive committee and the national committee, unwaveringly supports the government. This was also true in the case of the 12 March decisions, and later in other issues. Naturally, I do not mean to say that every single member of the parliamentary group—which also has trade union members—supports all the government's measures. The leading members of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions, who are members of the parliamentary group, have supported the MSZP and the government's goals even in the most difficult situations but, naturally, they formulated their own suggestions for the solutions. I can understand the deputies' difficult position because they have to come before the voters and explain to them our forced measures. This gives them all a hard time and causes an inner crisis for some of them.

[Pinter] Do you think that the parliamentary group or the MSZP's leading organizations might become uncertain about supporting you in the future? If they do, then what will be the reason?

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[Horn] Rather than my personal fate, the question is whether government measures serving renewal and progress will continue to receive support from the MSZP, and society in general, in the future. The current measures will have tangible positive effects in one to one and a half-year's time. The results will lend confidence to the renewal process, and this will lead to our being in an easier position at the 1998 elections.

[Pinter] In your view, where are the obstacles?

[Horn] The railway workers' strike showed that Hungarian society does not believe in radical steps. This country wants to live in peace and the people want to preserve what they have achieved with hard work mostly without changing things. Both our own goals and our international partners expect us to move ahead and modernize our pension system, health care, and social security system. It is a particular problem of the eastern-central European region, including Hungary, that there have been a lot of victims of the emerging market economy so far, and because of our modest financial means, we have little opportunity to support the losers. Only economic growth and Hungary's further development can promise a solution. In addition to this, it is a big problem that the developed Western countries are not sufficiently aware of the challenges we must content with. Here, we must simultaneously eliminate the old and build the new. This requires terrible sacrifices and the entire process cannot work without sufficient outside help—mostly government help. I do not say that the West has abandoned this region, but I do claim that the West continues to treat this region in the old way, and does not sufficiently realize that the stability of the whole of Europe might be threatened if signs of uncertainty continue to increase here. EU member countries have become too introverted and immersed in their own problems. The time of euphoria is over and they do not seem to be dealing seriously with the difficulties of our restructuring. Perhaps they did not realize that Western Europe will also lose if they delay the integration of our region.

[Pinter] Hungary's western borders are becoming increasingly tight because of the consequences of carrying out the Schengen Agreement. The complexity and length of border control could force this country to its knees, and Western tourists might avoid it. We can already see interference in industrial cooperation as well. What will be the end of all this?

[Horn] The danger is increasingly serious and therefore, in a relatively short time, we must reach the level we have already achieved with the EU in other areas as associate members. Brussels should come to an agreement with the associate members on giving preferential treatment to their citizens, primarily in border crossing. This again affects the daily economic interests of the EU, because the partners in mixed enterprises will also lose if traffic is restricted.

[Pinter] Do you want to start a diplomatic offensive to achieve this treaty?

[Horn] By all means. However, I would also like to see the EU determine the way that Hungary can join the trans-European networks, including traffic and energy supply networks, as soon as possible. I hope that the upcoming EU white paper contains concrete answers to these questions.

[Pinter] You use every opportunity to declare that Hungary wants to become a NATO member even "in the first round." Can we see developments that support this demand?

[Horn] I told Russian politicians that I do not think that Russia threatens our security, although an unstable Russia could destabilize the whole East/Central European region. In creating our security, we must take into consideration the Yugoslav situation, which is fraught with increasingly serious tension. A Croatian-Serbian conflict—a conflict that would have unpredictable consequences for Hungary as well—must be avoided by all possible means. The agreement reached with the peacekeepers was a considerable step forward, but it hardly eliminated the danger of a conflict. Given Hungary's special situation deriving from its proximity, our security can be guaranteed only by NATO. Therefore, I am definitely for Hungary's being the first to join NATO.

[Pinter] You will meet President Clinton in Washington in June. What will you take on your trip to the United States?

[Horn] I expect a lot of concrete results from my trip to the United States. U.S. support is essential for us in the economy, business life, and government alike. It is a promising change that, unlike in previous times, the U.S. Administration now has a detailed concept regarding this region. Among the NATO members, the United States was the first to start the process of our becoming NATO members. The U.S. Administration also supports Hungary's EU membership.

[Pinter] It is well known that, when elected prime minister, you expected a lot from Hungarian-German cooperation. Based on the developments so far, have your expectations been realized?

[Horn] They have, basically, because the largest investments in Hungary in recent months have also come from German firms. I find it especially important that the Germans generally work with long-term projects, and they do not see the immediate profit interest. There are also chances of developing our financial cooperation. I am convinced that, just like the other countries in the region, Hungary too needs a nonsynchronous system of relations with the EU members in the first place—and this means that they should advance us the financial background for our cooperation. These are long-term preferential credits, and not aid, and serve equally the business interests of the relevant Western countries and of Hungary. I am convinced that these sources are available, but the various governments should play a

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more active role in determining and operating these sources. We have a chance of signing such treaties with the German Government.

[Pinter] The fact that Budapest has not yet signed a new agreement with the IMF affects the entire system of Hungarian relations. What are the prospects?

[Horn] Hugary and the IMF signed a standby agreement of more than $400 million in September 1993, but the prevailing Hungarian government was unable to fulfill its obligations because of the budget deficit, the deficit in the balance of payments, and other reasons. Actually, the validity of this agreement has been suspended. It is vital for us to have a new agreement with the IMF—first of all not because of our credit needs, because our hard currency reserves of more than $7 billion are sufficient to fulfill our payment obligations. The agreement is vital mostly because it actually guarantees Hungary's international financial contacts. Based on this, we can sign agreements on withdrawing new credits from the European Investment Bank in Luxemburg, the World Bank, and other Western governments. There is hope that we can sign an agreement with the IMF in the foreseeable future.

Border Police Reorganization, Prospects Viewed

AU0405102895 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Apr 95 p 6

[Correspondent's report on interview with Border Police Commander Balazs Novaky; place and date of interview not given: "Border Halt to Illegal Immigration"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Balazs Novaky told us that the current staff of the Border Police numbers about 18,000, including 8,000 professional border guards and 3,000 civilian employees, and about 7,000 regular soldiers can also be deployed. The Border Police intends to reduce the number of regular soldiers by 1,000. [passage omitted]

According to Novaky, they succeeded in setting up the 25 Border Guard units planned for this years, but two of them are not yet manned. The units are deployed at more or less equal distances along the borders, and they can be redeployed quite quickly. The Border Guard posts were set up in such a way that at least a platoon of soldiers can always be deployed there. The commander can decide on the use of these units, including their temporary redeployment when needed. The available forces are capable of halting illegal immigration and ensuring the security of people living along the borders.

Novaky told us that passenger traffic at the borders increased by 10 percent and truck traffic by more than 20 percent this year. However, there has been a slight decrease in the number of passengers crossing to Austria, the rump Yugoslavia, and Ferihegy Airport. If this trend continues, some 120 million passengers are expected to cross Hungarian borders this year—an all-time high. In spite of this, one does not have to reckon with considerable delays in the passenger traffic, but the considerable waiting time for international truck traffic will hardly decrease. Only a separation of passenger and truck traffic could solve this problem; accordingly, there are plans to build truck terminals at Roszke, Nagylak, Tompa, Biharkeresztes, and Redics. [passage omitted]

According to Novaky, the crossing of passengers has lately become slightly stricter, but a passenger can still be allowed to cross within one minute. At the same time, the number of people who have been checked thoroughly this year is close to 1 million, and irregularities have been found in more than 10,000 cases, and some 50,000 passengers have been turned back mainly because they lacked financial means of subsistence while in Hungary. In addition, more than 60 human traffickers have been caught so far, drugs were found in eight cases, and almost 100 stolen cars came to light. No proceedings were initiated last year for violating the embargo, but five such cases have already come to light this year. The number of legal offenses decreased by 25 percent, and only 4,600 such cases were registered in the first quarter of 1995. Most of these cases were illegal crossings, and every second person tried to cross the border with a fake passport. Organized criminals are probably behind most of these cases. [passage omitted]

Poll Shows Relative Popularity of Parties

AU0405074195 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 29 Apr 95 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report on opinion poll carried out by the Szonda Ipsos Research Institute in April 1995: "The Popularity of the Independent Smallholders' Party Is Fast Increasing"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The balance of forces among the various political parties that had emerged immediately after the government's austerity measures stabilized in April. Clearly in first place on the list is the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] with 16 percent. The second and third places on the list are occupied by the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP], each with the support of slightly more than 10 percent of the population. The third group on the list is made up of the other opposition parties in parliament—namely, the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], and Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], with the support of 5-7 percent of the population. The list ends with a few parties not represented in parliament, with each enjoying the support of only 1 percent of the population. This is how we can sum up the main results of an opinion poll carried out by Szonda Ipsos in April 1995. [passage omitted]

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Lawyer Claims Kuklinski Sentence Unsubstantiated

WS0405112495 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2-3 May 95 p 15

[Article by Reserve Lieutenant Commander Bohdan Kopczynski, doctor of law: "Kuklinski Should Not Have Been Deemed a Deserter"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *A report published by RZECZPOSPOLITA on 7 April of this year on the special appeal to the sentence passed against Colonel Ryszard Kuklinski, submitted by the first president of the Supreme Court, is just and valid. Contrary to the communist and postcommunist view, I claim Col. Kuklinski is a hero, not a traitor.*

I wish to discuss only the stark bending of the provisions of the Penal Code pertaining to the military: Is Article 304, Paragraph 3 thereof, pertaining to desertion, applicable to the professional soldier which Col. Kuklinski was at the time?

The answer is no. Article 304, Paragraph 3 of the Penal Code states that "Paragraph 2 is applicable to soldiers who have the intent of fleeing abroad, or realize such an intention after having deserted, or refuse to return to the country while they are abroad."

Because Paragraph 3 of Article 304 of the Penal Code refers to Paragraph 2 of the same article, we should bear in mind that Paragraph 2 states: "If the perpetrator commits an act of desertion taking firearms with him or together with another soldier, he may be sentenced to prison for a period of no less than three years."

We must clarify whether Article 304 applies to all soldiers, or only some if the Penal Code is to be applied correctly, in particular the in dubia pro reo principle provided for in Article 3 Paragraph 3 of the Penal Code. It states that "undispelled doubts shall not be settled to the disfavor of the accused." This principle was very frequently violated by the judicial authorities of the Polish People's Republic. Article 289, Paragraph 2, one of the general provisions on enlisted men, states that "a soldier is an individual in active military service," but there exists no provision defining the notion of "an individual in active military service." Article 294, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code lists soldiers in the professional military services, both temporary and extended. We must thus answer the question of how service relationships between the state and professional soldiers are entered into and dissolved.

This problem has been dealt with in a law dated 30 June 1970, on professional military service. According to Article 3, Paragraph 1 of the original text of that law, "professional soldiers are soldiers in active military service." Article 7 provides the ultimate legal solution: "Men are enlisted for professional military service by the minister of national defense or the military organ he appoints. Only men who volunteer for this service are enlisted." Professional soldiers are thus volunteers. This fact has its legal consequences, most of all that voluntary enlistment is followed by a service relationship where rights and duties of the parties are originated by appointment. The situation of men in basic military service who are concurrently in active military service is quite different. Soldiers within the basic military service are bound by law to complete their service under the rigor of penalties provided for in the administrative proceedings, penal, and civil codes, among them Article 304 of the Penal Code. These legal circumstances are obvious for anyone who exercises the law legitimately.

Even if one is a soldier within the active military service, it should be constantly kept in mind who we are talking about. A professional soldier is a volunteer, thus he cannot "persistently avoid military service." If a professional soldier fails to turn up at his military unit or at any other prescribed venue beyond it, only disciplinary action specified in Article 50, Paragraph 1, Part 3 of the aforesaid Law on Professional Military Service may be used against him, meaning he may be disciplinarily expelled from professional military service.

Article 304, Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Penal Code are thus not applicable to professional soldiers for the reason that professional soldiers cannot be charged with appropriation of firearms, as they are free to keep them at home and carry them on their person. They take full responsibility for losing their firearms without due cause and may even be penalized.

In other words, a professional soldier who fails to turn up for service, thus violating the voluntary legal relationship established under conditions of Article 7 on the Law on Professional Military Service, may be dismissed only through the administrative procedures defined in that law. He may not by any means be considered a deserter. The application of Article 304, Paragraph 3 of the Penal Code in such circumstances is contra legem. It is a striking manipulation of the law.

Once the service relationship is dissolved, even if the professional soldier still remains enlisted, his decision to remain abroad may never be classified as desertion, but only as a violation of disciplinary regulations, namely failing to report nonappearance to superiors or failing to obtain their consent.

The conclusion is that sentencing Col. Ryszard Kuklinski to 15 years in prison on the basis of Article 304, Paragraph 3 of the Penal Code is legally groundless, considering that as a professional soldier he was incapable of committing the deed described in Article 304 of the Penal Code.

Politicians Skeptical of Walesa's Plans for Party

WS0405100595 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 May 95 p 2

[Article by Piotr Smilowicz and Igor Zalewski: "No Chances for a Walesa Party?"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] *Lech Walesa has announced that he will establish his own political party which would help him win the presidential elections for the second time, as well as back him in the new parliament. Post-Solidarity politicians doubt whether he will succeed. "Walesa does not understand the very essence of a political party. He cares neither for the opinions nor for the interests of leaders and members," says Adam Lipinski [deputy chairman of the Center Accord—PC].*

"A political force guaranteeing a parliamentary representation of 20 percent should be formed. Otherwise, even if I do win, it will be difficult to solve the problems this country is facing," said President Lech Walesa at a meeting with people from the mountain regions on Sunday [30 April].

"There have already been several attempts to form a presidential party," says Freedom Union Deputy Chairman Tadeusz Syryjczyk. "Very soon after they emerged, however, they either distanced themselves from their patron, or became fringe parties."

Syryjczyk claims that even if Walesa succeeds in gathering a group of supporters, the movement will at best share the fate of the Victoria Party or the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR]. "Walesa is not capable of creating a lasting political structure," he says.

"I am very skeptical about the announcement," echoes Union of Labor Chairman Ryszard Bugaj. "The fate of BBWR proves the president is incapable of forming a new political grouping from scratch. This time, moreover, Walesa is even weaker than he was in 1993, which means that even fewer people will be willing to build their own position by relying on his authority."

According to Bugaj, Walesa erred by not attempting to win the support of the rightist parties at all costs. "Populism, radical anticommunism, conservatism, and Christian-Democrat views" are a common denominator linking him with those groups.

"Meanwhile, to this day he has not really apologized to them for calling them 'botchers' [popaprancy]," reminds Bugaj.

Deputy Chairman of PC Adam Lipinski also doubts whether a Walesa party can be formed. He cites two arguments: historical and characterological. "In 1990, Walesa had the support of a wide spectrum of rightist parties, from the Christian-National Union to the Liberal-Democratic Congress. But then he personally split that front. It was exactly the same with BBWR. Once it turned out that the idea fizzled, he left the people who had created the party stranded. That was a bitter lesson for any followers there might be," says Lipinski.

He also claims Walesa, by his very nature, is unable to cooperate with political parties. "He does not understand the essence of a political party. He is interested in neither the views nor the opinions of party leaders or members," says the PC politician.

"The project is quite understandable, but it is doomed to fail," says Maciej Jankowski, head of the Mazowsze region of Solidarity. "Our trade union's support for the current president could be of paramount importance. Unfortunately, Walesa is not doing anything to win that support," he states.

Strzembosz Seeks Solidarity Support

WS0405102195 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 May 95 p 2

[Article by M.D.Z.: "Adam Strzembosz Turns to Solidarity for Support; Presidency Discussed in Porczynskis's Gallery"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Adam Strzembosz asked Solidarity on 2 May for support. "I am now appealing to the most serious political force, to the union in which I began my public career. I am appealing for cooperation in our task of constructing the Republic," said the rightist candidate for president.

Professor Strzembosz believes that after the presidential elections the government should dissolve itself, just as was the case after the previous elections for the head of state. Adam Strzembosz would like this mechanism to become a constitutional obligation in the future. If the nation elects a president representing a political philosophy that is different from the one supported by the governing majority, early parliamentary elections should be held.

"Poland is still searching for its own road. Will we be a country which improves the Polish People's Republic? Will we build a Third Republic that is closer to the second, or even to the first one?" asks Prof. Adam Strzembosz.

This year, the candidate said, two vital decisions will be made in Poland: the constitution will be adopted and the head of state will be elected. If a constitution is not preceded by a preamble, the citizens will feel deprived of values, certainty, security, and stability. This is why Strzembosz is in favor of a preamble as proposed by the Social Constitutional Commission. The professor believes that the office of the president "is a perfect place in which to integrate those political forces whose unification is indispensable to Poland; it is a perfect place in which to agree on the interests of the Polish state, to create a real alternative to the current post-communist configuration of authorities." "The office of the president will be a good foundation which will help these political forces win the next presidential elections," Adam Strzembosz says. He believes that "the Polish state ought to regain the office of the president," who already has fairly broad powers (which should be maintained), such as the legislative initiative, the right to submit his veto and to make appointments to important posts. These powers are specified by the Small Constitution; this Constitution, however, contains only "the principles of social engineering" but does not specify its

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fundamental values which the state should serve. "The shortcomings of the Small Constitution do not disqualify it if the highest offices interpret it in good faith," Strzembosz explained.

The meeting of the rightist candidate for president with his electoral committee and guests was held in Porczynskis's Gallery in Warsaw. Participating in the meeting were, aside from the traditional supporters of Prof. Adam Strzembosz, such politicians as Krzysztof Krol, leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, and Andrzej Smirnow of Solidarity.

Balcerowicz Discusses Politics, Freedom Union

95EP0079A Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 24-25 Mar 95 pp 8-9

[Article by Leszek Balcerowicz, former minister of finance and new head of the Freedom Union: "What Politics Means for Me"]

[FBIS Translated Text] My joining the Freedom Union (UW) has been widely commented upon. Among others, voices have been heard which expressed astounding speculation, dark suspicions, wounded pride, and petty calculations. I will not respond to such statements. However, I would like to explain the motives for my decision to all of those who believe, like I do, that politics should be an endeavor for the benefit of the common good. These motives are simple and form a logical sequence.

Since 1989, the course of events in our country has begun to depend mainly on us. Things have become possible which until recently were out of the question: the rule of law, free and responsible speech, an effective democracy respected by citizens, a powerful but tolerant state concentrating on its basic tasks, an economic system which increases the number of ever more productive jobs (eliminating hidden unemployment at the first stage), and greater external security due to affiliation with the political and military structures of the West.

History is one of my hobbies, and perhaps for this reason I was and am aware of how extraordinary the recent years have been. This gave rise to the perception of my duty, as well as an immense satisfaction which I had during the years in which I engaged directly in building a new economy. These factors and the belief in the might of rational reasoning made it possible for me to overcome the difficulties of that time.

Poland has changed fundamentally within a few years, but its progress has been very uneven. Even the critics must acknowledge that we have made much progress in the economy, although it has not been easy. However, the assessment of changes in the political system should be critical. We have almost an election a year, which is usually preceded by a noisy campaign with a great dose of demagoguery. As a result, we have frequent changes of leadership and general instability in the country.

Favorable changes in the economy would have been greater still had it not been for this particular course of political phenomena. It has resulted in a delay of several years in carrying out significant reforms: in the approval of a good new constitution, in privatization, reprivatization, changes in the sector financed from the budget, and the expansion of local self-government.

Each of these issues became a political football. Besides, is it possible to expect, for example, a rapid reform in the health care service if the head of the ministry is replaced every so many months? An enterprise whose management changed that frequently would have to collapse. The aforementioned course of political events has also thoroughly confused public perceptions of the issue of retirement benefits and annuities and has hampered the fight against inflation by generating occasional tensions.

This mode of operating a democracy does not make it possible for citizens to come to respect it. Meanwhile, democracy must also be a societal value rather than just a set of institutions. All of this damages the reputation of Poland in the international arena. I have watched with concern as the obstruction of systemic changes, in particular privatization, along with political adventurism and the attendant uncertainty as to the course of future events in our country have recently tarnished our image throughout the world.

As a result, our significant advantage—an economy which is dynamic due to previously undertaken fundamental reforms—has borne little fruit in the form of foreign investment. Foreign investment is necessary for us to be able to develop even faster. The political situation described also reduces the effectiveness of our efforts to join Western structures which would enhance our external security. Just as the reputation of any person, that of a country has a quantifiable value.

In a word, politics has turned to be the weakest area of changes so far. At the same time, it is precisely on politics that the completion of economic reforms, the perpetuation of democracy, and the reinforcement of the international position of Poland depend. Therefore, the political system is a key element from the point of view of the course of future events in Poland. This is the second premise for my reasoning.

The conviction that the arrangement of political parties is a sore point of modern democracies, and that in Poland, this arrangement leaves much to be desired, is the third premise. I know that the public does not like political parties; however, a modern democracy cannot function without them. The party arrangement in Poland has evolved greatly. Quite recently, an unprecedented fragmentation was characteristic of it, especially of the "post-August" camp. This fragmentation, along with the fact that a segment of groups from this camp attacked reforms with particular aggression, contributed to the success of parties dating back to the old system and, therefore, indirectly to all the consequences which the exercise of power by these parties has recently entailed.

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Parties whose programs promise to take a greater advantage of such opportunities are at the same time politically less efficient than parties whose programs are considerably worse from this point of view. The Freedom Union, which has a great but only partially tapped potential, is the main element in the former group. Very much hinges on changing this state of affairs: how quick our economic development will be, what view of democracy our society will take, and what our international reputation and opportunities for achieving our foreign policy objectives will be.

I do not rule out the possibility of the very fact of inherited economic backwardness being able, to a certain degree, to result in the aforementioned imbalance in the party system. A small pie generates social tensions and enhances the popularity of demands for redistribution, the satisfaction of which would render rapid growth impossible. This is amplified by the limited ability of the electorate to separate better proposals for the development of the country from the worse ones. This is the case everywhere, but perhaps in particular in the countries of our region which are ridding themselves, with difficulty, of the mental ballast of socialism and are already exposed to manipulation by a segment of politicians.

However, all of this should not in the least discourage people who want to practice politics in a broader context. On the contrary, this should give them an incentive to act in order to enhance the effectiveness of a party which, to their minds, has a program which is good for the country. The aforementioned tendencies are no verdict of fate but rather phenomena which can and should be counteracted. These tendencies do not fully explain the results of the last election in Poland because obvious political mistakes of the reform camp were a factor in such results.

What I have said so far brings me to the Freedom Union. I believe this party to be the most important element of the political reform bloc. The Freedom Union can achieve an important political success by wisely combining continuity and authentic changes. I can acknowledge the economic program of the party as my own, and this makes it possible for me to support it in the course of my public activities. I also subscribe to the party's fundamental positions on other issues, although certain matters do call for a calm debate while the entire program should be more articulate.

I supported the UD and the KLD [the Democratic Union and the Liberal-Democratic Congress respectively, which united in April 1994 to form the Freedom Union] in their preelection struggle. At the time, my KLD colleagues did not doubt my political qualifications. I was among the people who tried to bring about a preelection alliance between the UD and the KLD. I watched with growing alarm and disbelief how this alliance failed to occur despite elementary preelection mathematics. How much has Poland paid for a moment of irrationality in the top echelons of the two parties?

Where significant objectives are concerned, opportunities and ways to achieve them should be viewed as soberly as possible because this is the basic condition for success. This is how I look at the Freedom Union, and I arrive at a conclusion which is both critical and conditionally optimistic. Criticism comes from the conviction that the Freedom Union has so far shown unsatisfactory efficiency in a few basic areas on which good results in present-day politics hinge. My conditional optimism comes from the assumption that the situation can be decisively improved, given profound and authentic changes.

At present, I consider the basic program of the Freedom Union to be its greatest trump card. I am convinced that the implementation of this program would make it possible to take the greatest advantage of the potential of a free country. I attach tremendous significance to it: Politics as a pure play for power does not make any sense to me. Political activity in the service of a good program is my life's mission. This was the case in 1989-91; it is also how I viewed and view my subsequent activities in the cause of reforms in Poland and other countries. I cannot give this up in favor of a role in whose chance of success and, therefore, social utility I will not believe.

However, a good program will not suffice for one to be effective in politics and carry out the program. In addition, a few conditions must be met which distinguish a modern political party from a political discussion club.

First of all, there is cohesion. Of course, there is a fundamental difference between a hierarchical organization, such as, for example, a ministry, and a political party which amounts to a voluntary association of ambitious people. I believe that the variety of experience of various groups in the Freedom Union may be a source of its strength rather than weakness. This has made me even more concerned as I have watched over the last dozen or so months manifestations of strong internal conflicts in the leadership elite of the Freedom Union. This runs counter to the minimum, and by far not sufficient, condition of effectiveness of joint political actions which says that stronger blows than those aimed at the political rivals of a party should not be dealt to its own members.

I have considered certain attacks against the chairman of the party to be impermissible both in terms of their form and thrust; not only because I have a great respect for Tadeusz Mazowiecki but also because these attacks undermined the cohesion of the party and impaired its effectiveness.

These internal conflicts were all the more surprising because I believe that they were not rooted in more profound differences in views on the party program, perhaps except for the issue of relations between the state and the Catholic Church. Moreover, I think that this program can be a forum for integration to a far greater degree than heretofore. It should also provide more of a

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basis for our actions as the opposition. Effective opposition must be consistent, that is, adhere to the points it announces to be its program or at least not run counter to them. A more broad-minded opposition also rises above shortsighted partisanship and is mindful of the fact that political activity advantageous for the country consists of, among other things, promoting a political culture which combines acute rivalry and cooperation rather than forging a stance of relentless hostility. Elements of cooperation between adversaries existed even during the periods of hot and cold war. It would be strange for democratic politics in a free country to be devoid of such elements.

A more profound discussion is needed of the causes of unsatisfactory cohesion in the UW leadership group, where more profound substantive differences are lacking. Is this the result of leadership style, a lack of adequate activities, the wounded pride of certain functionaries, a shortage of internal discussions of the program, a lack of clear-cut prospects for the entire party, or still other reasons? This is certainly a significant problem which I, however, do not consider impossible to solve. I believe that members of the party have been more unanimous than the leadership to date.

A good presentation is the second condition of political success. A good program may be poorly presented, making the impact on its political effectiveness disastrous. Therefore, the following is an absolutely fundamental issue: We should be able to adjust to the rules of mass communication and know how to translate the party program into a set of clear-cut slogans which get through to the people. Finally, we should have a leadership group which will manage to represent the party and its program in unison and convincingly in the mass media, including the mightiest medium—television. A party which lacks this is an anachronism.

The Freedom Union must and can make many corrections in the area of organization. We need an efficient and professional party headquarters, permanent groups of advisers, and a growing network of active and competent members. However, no changes are needed in the current structure of the party's leadership bodies, which consist of the council and its presidium headed by the chairman of the party. This is precisely how effective political organizations are structured.

Financing, on which an improvement in organization and efficiency hinges to a considerable degree, is the fourth issue. In this instance, we can mainly note the danger of a vicious circle: A party which is perceived to be ineffective is not in a position to attract funds from its sympathizers and new members, and due to this can remain ineffective.

Finally, there is the strategy with regard to voters. In this instance, the crucial issue is to identify the natural electorate which is attracted by the party program. I believe that these are people who see the general thrust of transformations in recent years, and see the success of these transformations as an opportunity for themselves. Such people are found in varying proportions in various social groups; on average, they are better educated and young (sometimes only in spirit). This is and will be a growing community.

We should determine the natural electorate of other parties and the rest of the voters, or the intermediate area, and arrange the political principles of the party accordingly; strengthen the loyalty and morale of the natural electorate, maximize the influence of the party in the intermediate area, and, while not abandoning the program, try to convince the natural (at this point in time) electorate of other parties that the latter do not by any means have the best cures for the electorate's problems. I am convinced that this strategy, along with meeting the rest of the aforementioned prerequisites for political effectiveness, can win a far greater number of votes for the UW. In this case, we can count on its good program having a far greater influence on the course of events in our country.

The described prerequisites for political success will not be dismissed with the contemptuous label of "technocracy." Such "technocracy" is what distinguishes an effective present-day political party from political contemplation.

Finally, there is the issue of priorities. I resolutely believe full concentration on creating the aforementioned prerequisites of political effectiveness to be the right priority. Just as resolutely, I believe the emphasis on a debate concerning possible future alliances to be a false priority. This would be not only a manifestation of weakness but also a factor which perpetuates this weakness. It will not only divert valuable energies from the fundamental pursuit of strengthening the party but will also weaken the party by creating or exacerbating yet another line of division for the purposes of intraparty infighting. Simply put, this would be an action harmful to the party.

The chances of the UW to succeed will be the greatest when profound and authentic changes are combined with the preservation of emotional capital associated with its historic creators, and if the latter serve the UW as great authorities and guides whose public service by no means has come to an end. Continuity does not offer hope in the absence of profound changes; changes in the absence of continuity would face a daunting task.

Ministry Objects to NBP's Statute Amendment

WS0305135795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2-3 May 95 pp 1, 9

[Article by Jan Bazyl Lipszyc: "A New Conflict Between the Finance Ministry and the NBP Is in the Air; Amendment of the Central Bank Law"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The National Bank of Poland [NBP] has developed a draft amendment to the NBP Law. The Ministry of Finance responded with 51 comments*

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and corrections. Some of them are quite substantial, hence we may expect another fierce conflict between the two sides of Swietokrzyska Street [where NBP and the Finance Ministry are located nearly opposite one another].

The draft law, as we have learned from the explanatory statement, was developed with EU legislation and recommendations in mind. Its major objectives are:

—positioning and consolidating power and responsibility pertaining to monetary policy,

—defining the relationship between the NBP, the Sejm, and the Council of Ministers,

—specifying the scope and forms of the NBP's influence on commercial banks,

—modernizing the bank's management system.

Controversial Council

The NBP suggests establishing a monetary policy council which would develop the assumptions of fiscal policies and define implementation methods. It would also fix interest rates on refinanced loans and loans on collateral, bill of exchange discounts and rediscounts, and the rate of obligatory reserves.

The council would be made up of the NBP president and two deputy presidents. Additionally, the Sejm, the Council of Ministers, and the president would each delegate two members.

The NBP argues that the council has to be established to stabilize monetary policy and ensure that it is independent of any political changes. It would moreover satisfy the need for giving the central bank rate a long-term character.

The Finance Ministry claims this should not be a monetary policy council, but an NBP council. According to the ministry, the draft law states that, having the power to issue instructions for the NBP president, it will be more important than he is. Therefore, the law should first define the prerogatives of the council, and then those of the president and the NBP management board.

The prime minister, the president, and the Sejm would not, according to the finance minister, have to seek the NBP president's opinion in appointing their representatives to the council. The Finance Ministry also wants the law to include provisions on the process of dismissing council members, which are lacking in the NBP draft.

If the law became effective in the form suggested by the NBP before the presidential elections, the bank would have a majority of five out of nine members on the board. If it became effective after the elections and the currently governing coalition won, it would have six members.

Controversial Monetary Policy

The NBP wants the council to set the assumptions of monetary policy and methods of its implementation. The Finance Ministry is questioning this principle, wanting the Sejm to approve the assumptions together with the budget bill. It is also demanding that a provision be included in the law placing the president of the bank under an obligation to supply the Sejm and the Council of Ministers with advancement on the implementation of monetary policy, the NBP fiscal plan, the achievements of fiscal policy, and information on projected payments on NBP profits to the state budget.

The NBP draft also states that "opinions and postulates formulated in the process of reviewing the report on the implementation of monetary policy, including those reached in the process of the budget bill debate" and the relations between NBP and the government will be subordinate to the objective of supporting social and economic policies, albeit "to the extent to which they will not collide with provisions of monetary policy."

The NBP thus wants independence for monetary policy (meaning the bank), and for the Finance Ministry to retain its hitherto status quo status.

Controversial President

The Finance Ministry wants the law to define what requirements candidates for the post of central bank president must meet. The council should have the authority to submit an appeal for the dismissal of the central bank president in a statutory two-thirds majority vote. The Sejm could dismiss the president at the motion of the council. It should also have the authority to suspend him if he is accused of breaching the Constitution. The Prosecutor's Office would then bring charges against him and a legally valid sentence against him could be passed (until it becomes final).

The bank draft does not suggest any changes in the positioning of the auditing services. The ministry suggests a "reconsideration of the possibility of removing the auditing services from the NBP structure, and granting the suggested provisions the status of interim regulations, which would be obligatory until an independent auditing institution is formed."

Regardless of the solution that is finally adopted, the Finance Ministry wants the bank auditing services to submit quarterly reports on the condition of the banking sector, and, if the finance minister so requires, information on the particular banks.

The ministry objects to the statutory guaranteeing of "unlimited possibilities of forming commercial companies and purchasing stocks and shares" to the NBP, as that would allow the bank to become a privileged competitor to other banks.

The ministry also suggests that the following provision be added: "Within three years of the date the law herein

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becomes effective, the NBP will market all shares and stocks of other banks it has at its disposal. After three years, bank shares and stocks become the property of the State Treasury."

A note containing the above comments to the bank amendment to the NBP Law was signed by Finance Ministry First Deputy Krzysztof Kalicki, who submitted it to the Economic Committee of the Office of the Council of Ministers. A copy was also dispatched to NBP President Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz.

Majority Fear Resurgence of Russian Imperialism

WS0405100495 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 May 95 p 2

[Report by "NIKA": "CBOS: We Fear an Imperialist Great Russia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Poles increasingly tend to claim that Russia will attempt to restore its old spheres of influence. One signal of that, claim the majority, is that Moscow vetoed our membership in NATO.*

"We fear that our sovereignty and security may be threatened by the imperialist ambitions that are now resurfacing in Russia," claims a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS].

Restoring the Empire

Poles increasingly tend to claim that in the immediate future (over the next 5-10 years) Russia will attempt to restore its empire. As far as such fears were expressed by 39 percent of those polled two years ago, and rose to 53 percent last year, this year as many as 64 percent are afraid that the Kremlin's policy will be to not only restore power in the former republics, but also in former socialist states.

NATO as an Obstacle in Russia's Path

The desire to restore influence in Poland is viewed to be the reason for Russia's disapproval of our attempts to join NATO. That opinion is very widespread, although it is slightly less popular than it was last year (currently—58 percent of those polled, last December—64 percent).

Only one in four of those polled (as compared with one in five previously) claims that the reason for our neighbor's discontent is fear for its own security.

We should disregard Russia's stance in our attempts at joining NATO, state 63 percent of those polled (last December—69 percent). The number of those who claim we should take Russia's stance into consideration is growing (from 15 percent to 24 percent).

The poll was conducted by CBOS on 7-11 April on a random sample of 1,177 adult Poles.

Fate of Troubled Fishing Fleet Examined

MM0405085095 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 26 Apr 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Jan Kreft: "The Halibut Has Made Us Sick: Polish Fishing Fleet in Politicians' Hands—Russians Could Use Consequences of 'Halibut War' Against Polish Fishermen in Sea of Okhotsk"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "When the 'halibut war' broke out recently and the Canadians applied restrictions against a single Spanish trawler, the whole affair immediately found its way into front-page headlines. The Polish fleet has been chased out of the Sea of Okhotsk international area for more than a dozen months now. But then the Sea of Okhotsk is a long way off," Wlodzimierz Klosinski, chairman of the board of the Gdynia-based Dalmor [deep sea-fishing] company. In Klosinski's opinion, the future of the Polish fishing fleet is in the hands of politicians.

All that the recently concluded New York conference did was bring forward the demise of our deep-sea fishing industry.

The conference was yet another international gathering convened to discuss fishing limits in the internationally accessible fishing waters (outside the 200-mile coastal zones). These limits are imposed in response to wasteful fishing practices. Their magnitude is to be determined by international organizations. Poland is happy enough with this proposal, as it will allow it to go on fishing in the Sea of Okhotsk. But Russia is against it, because it wants coastal sea areas to remain under the control of the states which border on these areas (the Sea of Okhotsk is surrounded by Russian coast on three sides). Russia's position is supported, among others, by Canada and Argentina.

"The Russians submitted an unprecedented statement in New York, to the effect that they 'reserve' for themselves 'the right to settle the question of the Sea of Okhotsk unilaterally.' All that the conference did was bring forward the end of our fishing activity in those areas. The final conference in the schedule, to be held at the end of July and beginning of August, also in New York, could well leave no room for doubt about it," W. Klosinski says. In his opinion, the future of the Polish deep-sea fishing fleet is now in politicians' hands, and the situation is not made any better by the fact that Polish-Russian relations are far from good.

On 16 March a group of a dozen or so Russian Federation Supreme Soviet [as published] deputies submitted to the Sejm a lengthy explanation of Russia's position on the question of fishing for Alaskan pollock in the Sea of Okhotsk. Referring to maritime law conventions, the deputies call the Sea of Okhotsk an "enclosed" or "semienclosed" sea. "Its central area should be protected in view of its specific biological environment and the need to preserve its natural resources, whereas the Polish fishing fleet carries out uncontrolled fishing there," the

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deputies maintain. They say that Japan, Korea, and China have already spoken in favor of restricting fishing in the area.

The deputies appealed to the Sejm to take into consideration the "unassailable scientific norms for fishing quotas for Alaskan pollock in the central zone of the Sea of Okhotsk. Violation of these norms carries with it the hazard of degradation of the Sea of Okhotsk ecosystem and...damages the ties of Polish-Russian cooperation in the sphere of fishing activities."

The Polish fleet first entered the Sea of Okhotsk in 1991, having moved there, under American pressure, from the Bering Sea. Recently it was accompanied in the Sea of Okhotsk by the Chinese fishing fleet. A year ago, the Koreans became sufficiently discouraged by the Russian restrictions, naval maneuvers and blocking of bunker deliveries to decide to withdraw to fishing grounds designated for them by the Russians inside the Russian economic zone, where they have to pay heavy fishing tariffs—even up to $300 per 1 tonne of fish—to the "hosts."

"The future of the Polish fishing fleet will be decided at the cash registers. Our access to the Russian economic zone in the Sea of Okhotsk could be so expensive in terms of the high costs of the purchase of fishing licenses that we will be unable to bear the financial burden," Klosinski maintains.

There are two planes in which this conflict is significant: Russia's attitude to Poland's aspirations to join NATO and the European Union (EU), and Russia's active stance in the international arena, where it is seeking to extend the jurisdiction of littoral states to areas beyond the 200-mile economic zone.

These days, money is the most effective weapon. Instead of gunboats, there are limits, quotas, ceilings, and goodness knows what else. It is all aimed at protecting your own market and sinking your rivals. Fish has become a strategic commodity. The Americans have introduced government plans for the development of the fishing sector under the motto "Americanization of the fishing industry," and they set out to gradually oust foreign fishing fleets from the fishing grounds they were using themselves. Later, the so-called fishing quotas made an appearance. Now a group of states led by Canada has made it their aim to extend the width of maritime economic zones to 300-350 miles. Since these economic zones are already treated as an integral domain of their adjacent littoral states, it is clearly the aim of international policy to appropriate the sea wealth which belongs to all nations and to carry out a new division of sea areas.

There are no alternative fishing grounds for the Polish fishing fleets to go to. Apart from the Bering Sea and the Sea of Okhotsk, there is nowhere we can harvest white fish. Technical and economic reasons exclude for us the viability of Canadian fishing grounds; and New Zealand fishing grounds, where Dalmor's fleet fishes by license, are also problematic. An agreement must be found one way or another.

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Izetbegovic Sends Message of Support to Tudjman

AU0305192195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received the news that President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency has sent a letter of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, which says:

We have been following the deterioration of the situation on the territory of our neighbor, the Republic of Croatia, with great concern.

We condemn the attacks on the innocent civilian population and support your legitimate efforts to restore the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Croatia throughout its entire territory. We hope that your efforts at curbing the violence will prove fruitful.

On behalf of the people, the state bodies of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and on my own behalf, I beg you to convey our sympathies to the families of the innocent victims, says the letter sent by President Izetbegovic to Franjo Tudjman.

Request for Protected Area Status for Western Slavonia

LD0305174595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 3 May 95

[Received via fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 3 May (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, the president of the Srpska republic, today requested that UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali declare the temporarily-occupied territory of Western Slavonia a "protected area."

"Considering that the UN mission in Krajina, sector West, has proved to be totally useless and even damaging to the Serb side," President Karadzic made the following request to the UN Security Council via Butrus-Ghali:

1. that the civilian population in Western Slavonia is fully protected and western Slavonija is declared a protected area—such already exist in Bosnia;

2. that the UN Security Council orders NATO to force Croatian troops to leave the occupied area and withdraw to their previous positions;

3. that the UNHCR and other international humanitarian organizations provide aid for the Serb civilians who have been cut off from their mother country.

"Your Excellency, many UN actions are of a dubious morality when it comes to the equal treatment of all sides in the conflict," said Karadzic in his letter to Butrus-Ghali and warned:

"If the UN Security Council fails to take decisive measures to protect the Serb territory of Western Slavonia the existence of the United Nations will lose all meaning for the Serbs and all our obligations toward this organization will cease."

Serbian Spokesman Defends Attack on Zagreb

MS0305151395 London BBC Television Network in English 0600 GMT 3 May 95

[Interview with Misha Gavrilovic, Serbian Information Center in London, by presenter Justin Webb; from the "Breakfast News" program—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Webb] Let's talk first about the situation in Western Slavonia, you have today some Serb forces handing over their weapons and surrendering. Does that mean that the situation there is stable now, and that the Croatian forces will be, should be allowed to keep what they have taken?

[Gavrilovic] That depends of course also on the international scene, but let's be quite clear what this has been. This has been an absolutely massive invasion by the Croatian Armed Forces into a UN protected zone. Already yesterday, by midday there were 6,000 refugees ethnically cleansed by these Croats. I'm sorry to say Western media have not given them that much coverage. 400 dead, more than that, that's the least number reported near the Okucani area, this is from Serbian sources.

[Webb] What does that tell us about the role of the UN then at the moment in Croatia?

[Gavrilovic] It says that the mandate of the UN has been changed notably by American and also German pressure at the UN in order to allow this invasion to take place. I mean the whole purpose of these troops being there, UNPROFOR [UN Protected Force], to protect the area, was precisely to prevent this being carried out, but it has been carried out and there has been no action taken on this. But I'm quite sure that there has also been considerable collusion, in fact massive collusion with this Croatian attack. They've got United States and Germany behind this.

[Webb] From the Serb side, though, you talk about the international community, there would have been horror across the world to see that this missile attacks on the Croatian capital city, really terrorism more than war. Do you condemn that?

[Gavrilovic] This has been a symbolic response in the circumstances. I've just mentioned 400 dead, I notice that no one has mentioning that. Everybody is keeping silent about the 6,000 ethnically cleansed, that's about 40 percent of the whole population of that area, you know with less than 48 hours...

[Webb, interrupting] But are you saying that the Serbs were right or wrong in that position to fire missiles at Zagreb?

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[Gavrilovic] Oh the Serbs are right to retaliate, most definitely, and to respond to what has been a major military invasion and aggression of against there territory.

[Webb] Would you like to see now the Bosnian Serbs becoming involved, because Mr Karadzic [Bosnian Serb Leader] has been talking in last day or so about what he intends to do, and the help he intends to give. Would you like to see it, and is it likely now that Serbs from Bosnia will become involved in trying to retake this land?

[Gavrilovic] I would certainly like to see the Serbs acting as one, they are one nation, there's no question about it, I mean they are being Kurdistanized here by these new divisions of borders, and their legitimate rights to self-government being denied to them. That has in fact been the problem the key problem in Yugoslavia. But as regarding the military scene, I think we have to let the leadership of republic of Srpski and the republic of Serbian Krajina decide that for themselves.

[Webb] That means more war, though, doesn't it, inevitably?

[Gavrilovic] It depends of course what the other side is doing, I mean the Serbs haven't started this one, in the republic of Serbian Krajina they haven't initiated a single action since early 1992. All the action, military actions by them have been in the response to military aggression from Croatia.

[Webb] But finally though, when you hear talk of fears about a renewed war possibly ranging right across the former Yugoslavia, that looks pretty realistic now, doesn't it?

[Gavrilovic] It looks very bad, what looks very bad about it is in fact that the United States is behind this, and actively supports it.

[Webb] Mr Gavrilovic we have to leave it there, thank you very much.

Silajdzic on Consequences of Croatian Conflict

BR0305143595 Paris LE FIGARO in French 3 May 95 p 3

[Interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Philippe Deprez in Sarajevo; date not given: "Haris Silajdzic: If You Do Nothing..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Deprez] How do you react to the resumption of fighting in Croatia?

[Silajdzic] We have always said that the war in the former Yugoslavia should have been stopped after Vukovar (November 1991—LE FIGARO editor's note). It is perhaps too late to stop a conflict on a larger scale.

[Deprez] What could be the direct consequences for Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] Each time that a conflict opens up between Serbs and Croats, we pay the price.

[Deprez] Is all-out war now inevitable?

[Silajdzic] The Bosnians want peace and the continuation of diplomatic negotiations. The authorities in Pale, however, reject the peace plan which was proposed by the Contact Group and which we signed, and the international community refuses to put pressure on them. From that point on, it is our legitimate right to break the siege of Sarajevo and other enclaves.

[Deprez] In this context is UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] still useful?

[Silajdzic] I am waiting for UNPROFOR finally to fulfill its mandate, but I know that this will not happen. We cannot accept that a protection force, muzzled by the governments which created it, leaves the field open for an aggressor. If you do not want to do anything for peace, then we will take care of it.

Tuzla-Podrinje Canton, Federation Discussed

AU0305152595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 May 95

[Report by Edina Isakovic from Tuzla]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mustafa Ramic, chairman of the Assembly of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton, and Hazim Rancic, interior minister in the cantonal government, held talks today with Jadranko Prlic, deputy minister and defense minister in the government of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation; Jozo Leotar, deputy interior minister of the Federation; General Tihomir Blaskic, chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina; and (Boris Lucic), deputy prime minister in the Herceg-Bosna government.

Views were exchanged during the extended talks on several current issues concerning the implementation of the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and particularly the current situation throughout the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton. The conclusion was reached that the situation in the canton was satisfactory and that the following period should see meetings between the representatives of the Bosniak and Croat people in the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton with the aim of implementing certain agreements.

The talks today were attended by the representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton and Fuad Hadziabdic, secretary of the regional defense secretariat.

Karadzic's Concluding Remarks From SDS Session

AU0305210495 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 May 95

[Report by Ivana Kovacevic]

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[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The general, military, political situation, as well as the party mobility, its future development, and the tasks concerning the preservation of the stability in the country are on the agenda at a plenary session of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] of Serbian Lands, convened Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic and of the party. At the plenary session a political position will be announced concerning the International War Tribunal in The Hague bringing charges against certain officials in the republic, and issue an announcement on the latest Croatian aggression against the republic of Serbian Krajina. President Karadzic said the following about today's plenary session:

[Begin Karadzic recording] We intended to consider the situation in the state and the tasks of the party in power concerning the functioning of the state bodies, and we planned to work for two days, but since Croatia attacked the Serbian Krajina, we have to finish in a day, and we will narrow down the list of the issues we should consider, but the immediate tasks of the party in organizing the functioning of the state bodies and helping the people and the families of the soldiers, so that we can manage all that is happening now and all that is to happen in the future. [passage omitted] [end recording]

After the plenary session was opened, and the agenda adopted, the report on the military and political situation in Srpska republic was presented by President Karadzic. Pointing out that, after three years of war and five years of party existence, the need has arisen for reviewing all the results and mistakes, President Karadzic emphasized that at the moment it was also necessary to set out the measures to preserve the stability and territorial integrity of the Srpska republic.

Emphasizing that the Serbian people have, in the four years of war, been both martyrs and winners, Dr. Karadzic said that the three-year war balance reflects in the preservation of statehood of the Srpska republic, even with the blockade imposed not only by the international community, but the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] also. Therefore, said the president of the Serbian Republic, the SDS of Serbian Lands must preserve the Srpska republic and prepare it for the unification with the other Serbian lands. To achieve that, it is necessary to preserve the republic of Serbian Krajina, too, concluded the president of the Srpska republic.

Talking about the party, Dr. Karadzic pointed out that it is the only party in the Serbian lands that has not divided, and thus preserved the unity of people despite the positions of the political opponents.

As far as the military situation is concerned, said president Karadzic, it is characterized by a long, stretched frontline, and the determination of the army of the Srpska republic to preserve the borders of their state.

In his introductory speech, he repeated the position that the Contact Group plan cannot be accepted by the Srpska republic, and the orientation of the Serbian side for peace and political negotiations, under equal conditions for both sides in the conflict.

Following president Karadzic's speech, a discussion will follow that will be closed to the public. Attending the plenary session are the members of the head and executive committee of the SDS political council, presidents of municipal and coordination committees of the party, and presidents of the municipal assemblies in the Srpska republic.

More From SDS Session

AU0405080695 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The second plenary session of the Serb Democratic Party of Serbian Lands [SDS], devoted to topical military and political questions, the situation in the country, and the mobility of the SDS, its development as the ruling party, and its goals with regard to rebuilding the country and defending its people, ended late last night. The SDS prepared the following statement:

The participants of the second assembly of the SDS concluded, after lengthy discussion and after having heard reports by SDS President Karadzic and SDS Executive Committee President Velibor Ostojic, that this is the grand finale of the solving of the Serb national question in which a Serb nation and Serb state is being created. The fight of the Serbs west of the Drina River and the Danube River have created two state strongholds: the Srpska republic and the republic of Serb Krajina, setting the scene for the political and state unity of all Serbs, emphasizing their determination and principled policy in implementing the Prijedor Declaration on the unification of the two young Serb states.

Consequently, the participants of the SDS Assembly appeal to all peace-loving people to join in defending the young Serb states that have, in the past several days, been attacked by savage ustashas. Those attacks were preceded by another attempt by the biased international factors and threats issued by The Hague Tribunal aimed at stripping the national plight of the Serbs of its legality and depriving them of their right to self-determination.

The FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], most of all, is expected to fulfill its obligations and the promises it made to the republic of Serb Krajina, as well as its moral duty to the Serbs under attack on the territory that they have occupied for centuries. Any Serb institution that refuses to come to the Serbs' rescue would go down as a shameful blemish in history.

The Second SDS Assembly concluded, obliged, and supported the state and political leadership of the Serb Republic in their attempt to transform, reorganize, and reconstruct the key state institutions and authorities, for the sake of the better functioning and development of the

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state. The assembly charged party bodies with introducing maximal political mobility in order to realize the basic national and political interests and goals of the Serbs under the guidance of the SDS, the statement issued after the Second SDS Assembly states.

Serbs Target UN Base at Maglaj, Wound 6

AU0405091495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 4 May 95

[Report by the 3d Corps Press Center]

[FBIS Translated Text] The previous day in the 3d Corps theater of operations was marked by two criminal attacks carried out by the cetniks. The first attack was carried out against civilians in the (?Tesanj) area, while the second attack targeted the UN base housing the British battalion stationed in Maglaj. From their positions on Mt. Ozren, the chetniks last night from several directions shelled the villages of Matuzici, Mravici, Karuse, and Jelah. Dozens of shells landed on the villages causing extensive damage. One woman and a child were killed in the shelling.

In the afternoon, the chetniks unsuccessfully launched attacks simultaneously on three sections of the front: At Kiselja, Husar, and Zmajevac, but after sustaining losses they soon withdrew. The fronts in the theater of operations of the 3d Corps 35th Division the day was marked by sporadic shelling of our positions and civilian targets from 82-mm and 120-mm mortars. At 2015 [1815 GMT], the Serbs fired a tank shell at the British Battalion stationed in the UN base in Maglaj. The shell hit the very center of the base, prompting the UN troops to respond and soon a veritable firefight was in progress between the blue berets and the chetniks. After a half-hour exchange of tank, portable rocket launcher, and antiaircraft fire, NATO jets appeared in the sky. The balance of the latest chetnik attack, as reported by UN spokesmen, are six wounded, one of them seriously.

The situation this morning on all fronts in the 3d Corps theater of operations is relatively quiet.

MBO Urges UK To Help Lift Arms Embargo

AU0305200595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] British Ambassador Brian Hopkinson today visited the headquarters of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO]. This visit was of a working nature.

During the visit, interesting talks were held, attended on the behalf of the MBO by Mr. Mujo Kafedzic, party deputy chairman, and Seid Hasanefendic, (Fetim) [word indistinct], and Muhamed Hadziomerovic, members of the party presidency.

A useful exchange of views was held on the current military and political situation, the siege of Sarajevo, the lifting of the arms embargo for the needs of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, on which the members of the party presidency particularly insisted, asking the ambassador to convey these requests to the British Government.

International Community Criticized for Passivity

LD0305202795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1835 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 3 May (TANJUG)—Ratko Mladic, commander in chief of the Army of the Srpska republic, today sent a letter to Bernard Janvier, the commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in the former Yugoslavia, in which he stresses that the Croatian aggression against the republic of Serb Krajina and the Srpska republic represents a flagrant violation of international law.

Stressing that innocent civilians and their property have been destroyed, General Mladic points out that "most of the Serb people are surrounded and being exposed to brutal force," and that "the passivity of the international community and its authorities who silently observe the massacre of innocent civilians is astonishing."

Gen. Mladic demands the UNPROFOR commander ensure "the protection of the Western Slavonian UNPA [UN Protected Area] zone in the spirit of the Vance plan" and prevent a genocide against Serb civilians.

Gen. Mladic tells Gen. Janvier that "the inefficiency of UN forces in the protection of the Serb people and their property has been proven, which makes the UN forces responsible for the crimes committed by the Croatian forces." He also says that the Croatian aggression represents a violation of all relevant UN Security Council resolutions, the Vance plan as well as the agreements signed between the warring sides, and that it seriously jeopardizes peace in this area and further afield.

Gen. Mladic demands that the Croatian forces of occupation immediately withdraw from UNPA [UN Protected Area] Western Slavonia and that UNPROFOR ensures the safety and protection of the Serb people and their property and in this way establish peace and create conditions for the return of expelled persons.

Gen. Mladic insists on the urgent involvement of international humanitarian organizations in providing all aspects of help for the encircled and expelled Serb people, on the safety of imprisoned people and on their urgent and unconditional release. Gen. Mladic expects from Gen. Janvier to ensure peace and full protection of the Serb people "throughout UNPA Western Slavonia" in the same way in which it protected "the Muslim people in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Stoltenberg Fears Possible UN Withdrawal

BR0405104195 Hilversum Nederland-1 Television Network in Dutch 1800 GMT 3 May 95

[Kees Boonman interview in English with Thorvald Stoltenberg, UN mediator for the former Yugoslavia, at Schipol Airport on 3 May—recorded]

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[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer Van Zijl] If one of the European countries were to withdraw from the former Yugoslavia, this could mean the end of the UN mission in that country, according to UN mediator Stoltenberg who arrived at Schipol Airport tonight. He will give a lecture tomorrow in Rotterdam. Stoltenberg has confidence in the cease-fire that was agreed today.

[Stoltenberg] I expect to build on the agreement achieved today on the cessation of hostilities that was negotiated by Mr. Akashi. I hope that this will not be violated and then we will have a good basis for negotiations

[Boonman] Do you fear a withdrawal of one of the European countries?

[Stoltenberg] Of course, if let us say France decides to leave, which is a possibility, they discussed this, I think it will have a domino effect and that we will see the British, the Dutch maybe leave, and then it will mean a factual withdrawal of the UN from Bosnia. I have no problems understanding this from the view of the governments and the United Nations that feel responsible for the people there. But I hope that this situation will not occur, I hope we shall manage to get back to negotiations.

[Boonman] But when this situation has occurred, then will it be very difficult for the UN troops to stay?

[Stoltenberg] Yes, that is why I think it will be like a domino effect. I think if some leave, particularly the big contingents, it will mean that the UN will leave.

Serb War Criminal Suspect Seeks Swiss Asylum

AU0305205495 Paris AFP in English 2030 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, May 3 (AFP)—A Bosnian Serb who is suspected of being a guard at the Omarska concentration camp in the former Yugoslavia has sought political asylum in Switzerland, police said Wednesday [3 May].

Police in Geneva have investigated the man's claims and passed on their findings to the federal office for refugees in Bern, they said, but would reveal neither their conclusions nor the man's identity. The Bosnian Serbs have been accused of widespread torture and murder of Moslem prisoners at the Omarska camp, in the Prijedor region of northern Bosnia.

Another camp guard at Omarska, arrested in Germany before being extradited to the Netherlands, is currently facing trial before the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

The asylum application was first reported by the Geneva newspaper, LE COURRIER, which said Wednesday that the affair compared with the scandal of Felicien Kabuga, the former head of Rwanda's controversial Mille Collines radio station, which incited Tutsis to genocide in the east African country last year. Kabuga had stayed with official authorisation in Switzerland in June 1994, before being discreetly deported rather than arrested, the paper said.

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Text of Serb-Croat Cease-Fire Agreement

LD0305173695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1619 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 3 May (TANJUG)—After today's meeting between the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] delegation led by Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic, and a delegation of UN peacekeeping forces, led by Pierre Peeters, head of the military negotiating team of the peacekeeping forces' headquarters in the former Yugoslavia, an agreement on a complete cessation of hostilities between the RSK and Croatia was signed.

The text of the agreement, which is carried by ISKRA, reads:

1. The signatories of this document accept that the armed hostilities, not only in the area known as Sector "West" but elsewhere, will cease completely as from 1600 [1400 GMT] on 3 May. The two sides shall withdraw to their previous positions as soon as possible, or by no later that 1600 on 4 May.

2. In order to establish safety and security on the highway, both sides accept that only UN peacekeeping forces (or one of their constituent parts), with EU observers, shall patrol [kontrolisati] the highway and its immediate vicinity (up to two kilometers on either side of it) in Sector "West." Both sides are obliged to cooperate fully with the UN peacekeeping forces in the setting up of a special system to this end.

3. The two sides accept that they shall fully respect the freedom and security of their UN personnel and the EU observer mission. UN personnel must be freed immediately and UN property returned.

4. The two sides also accept the continuation of consultations under the auspices of the United Nations.

5. This agreement shall be fully respected by both sides.

President Tudjman Addresses Nation

LD0305191995 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 3 May 95

[Address by President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb on 3 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croats and citizens of Croatia, I am speaking to you because of the events which have taken place over the past few days but also because of those which lie ahead of us. Because the Serb extremists, despite the presence of the peacekeeping forces, UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia], at the end of last month barbarically violated the agreement on movement along the highway by carrying out bandit-style attacks on passengers and by plundering and killing innocent people, we decided to call a halt to this kind of terrorism.

Yesterday, the Croatian military and constabulary forces liberated the roads in, as well as the whole of, Western Slavonia. The Croatian forces' undertaking lasted one and half days in all, despite the fact that we faced specially prepared forces of the 18th Corps of the so-called Serb Krajina army.

Achieving a full measure of surprise, the Croatian forces achieved a rapid and great victory, with minimal losses, while the opponent's losses were far greater.

As the head of state and supreme commander, I pay full tribute to the commanders and participants of all the military and constabulary formations for their skillful and excellent implementation of the tasks they were given. The liberation of Western Slavonia is of exceptional importance, not only from a military but also from an economic, moral, political, and especially from an international point of view.

By this victory Croatia has shown the rebel Croatian Serbs, as well as international factors, that it has an armed force which is capable of liberating all the as yet still-occupied areas, if this is not achieved in a peaceful way in cooperation with the international community.

However, the ringleaders of the Serb rebellion against Croatian freedom and the Croatian state still believe that they can continue the war for the creation of a Greater Serbia unpunished. Not only the Croatian people, but also responsible international players, have already hitherto perceived the intentions of the Greater Serb imperialists and extremists and now the whole world must bear witness to their true nature.

Examples of such criminal attacks, such as were carried out yesterday and today by the Serb terrorists on the Croatian capital, Zagreb, and on its citizens, and before this on Sisak, Karlovac, and other Croatian towns, are difficult to find even in the war conducted by the Nazi-fascist conquerors. In Zagreb alone, ten people have been killed and around 200 others have been wounded in rocket attacks. Most of them are women, elderly people, and children who were hit in the street but also were even hit in the children's hospital. All those Martics and Celeketics, or whatever their names are, from the Serb rebel ranks who have ordered the destruction of Croatian towns and the killing of innocent population will have to be put on trial for all these crimes. Responsibility for it is also borne by their Yugo-Serbian commanders in Belgrade.

In this connection, I would like to let all such people know that if they repeat such a criminal attack, the Croatian state will most resolutely respond in order to prevent all further terrorism. We shall no longer allow the peaceful departure of disarmed rebels as we did yesterday in Western Slavonia, they will have to account for their crimes before Croatian and international courts and participate in the rebuilding of everything that they have been destroying.

At the same time, as Croatian president, I am calling on the Croatian Serbs to disown and thwart those who are

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leading them to ruin, and to accept the peaceful reintegration of the currently occupied areas in the constitutional, legal, and economic system of the democratic Republic of Croatia.

The Croatian Government guarantees the Serb ethnic community all rights set out by the Croatian Constitution and by the separate constitutional law in accordance with all international conventions. Unless they give up their armed resistance, Croatia will know how and will be able to restore its authority throughout the entire territory within its internationally recognized borders in a way that was done two days ago and yesterday in Western Slavonia.

Croatia accepted the new peacekeepers' mandate provided that UNCRO is tasked with controlling Croatia's borders with Serbia and Bosnia and overseeing peaceful reintegration. But Croatia will no longer tolerate the continuation of ethnic cleansing of Croatian territory behind the shroud of the peacekeeping forces. We shall particularly not tolerate criminal terrorist attacks on Croatian towns nor the killing and humiliation of the Croatian people.

Peaceful reintegration of the currently occupied areas would be in the interest not only of the Croatian people, but also of the Croatian Serbs who are keen to live in the Croatian state as loyal citizens. It is a condition for the normalization of relations with Serbia and Montenegro and their Yugoslavia on the basis of mutual recognition, which is a condition for the creation of the new international order on the territory of former Yugoslavia and for peace in this part of Europe in which the entire international community is interested. To this end, Croatia accepted the Washington agreement on the Croat-Muslim Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and its confederation with Croatia. Croatia wishes to remain consistent in pursuing its peace-loving policy in order to avoid fresh casualties and destruction, to devote all its forces and resources to its economic and cultural building, but it will take all the necessary and most resolute steps to secure peaceful life for its citizens and the integrity of its internationally recognized state territory.

We are convinced that in its peace-loving and principled policy, Croatia will have understanding and support of the important international players and the entire international community. To achieve this goal as soon and as completely as possible it is necessary to preserve and strengthen the unity of all the classes of the Croatian nation. The strengthening of our defensive power is of particular importance, as is our consistency in implementing a uniform state policy in all areas of legislative, judicial, and executive authorities.

Esteemed and dear citizens of Croatia, what is now opposing Croatia's freedom is negligible and incomparable with the difficulties and obstacles that we had to overcome on the road of realizing our state independence. It is precisely now that the world may realize that the Croatian people are expressing their enhanced resolve to secure the integrity and sovereignty of the recently established independent and democratic Croatian state. Let us have firm belief in our own power and the freedom of our Croatian state in the world community of sovereign nations.

Daily Praises 'Aggression' on Western Slavonia

LD0305201295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 3 May 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 3 (TANJUG)—Croatian press on Wednesday justified and praised Croatia's aggression on Western Slavonia in Serb Krajina, in which 400 Krajina Serb civilians were killed.

The press also openly informed the international community that Croatia would ignore its decisions and continue mounting military operations. 'We should not deceive ourselves that all the Owens of the world will not want to stop Croatia with urgent sessions, decisions and threats,' the Croatian daily VJESNIK said, informing the international mediator that this would not prevent the Croatian Army from seizing U.N.-protected Serb Krajina.

'We will stop by ourselves when we have reached our goal, or when we assess that we have achieved what we wanted with a certain operation,' the daily said, voicing the Croatian regime's commitment to war. Between 12,000 and 15,000 Croatian troops and police, supported by artillery, tanks and planes, on Monday launched an aggression on Western Slavonia, which, according to Zagreb, was aimed at 'restoring traffic' on the Belgrade-Zagreb highway.

Out of about 400 Serb Krajina civilians who were killed in the aggression, 200 alone were killed in a refugee column. About 6,000 Krajina Serbs fled to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Praising Croatia's aggression and the capturing of parts of Western Slavonia, Croatian press made no mention of the number of Serb civilian casualties. It also made no mention of the fact that Croatian MiG jets, which were engaged in the so-called traffic restoration operation, bombed the Sava bridge near the town of Stara Gradiska, while women, children and the aged were trying to cross it to safety. Ignoring this, the Croatian regime and propaganda on Wednesday put an emphasis on the so-called restoration of order in Western Slavonia, i.e. on setting up Croatian police stations in the occupied parts of Serb Krajina.

The Croatian Defense and National Security Council, headed by President Franjo Tudjman, on Tuesday did not fail to accuse Yugoslavia without providing any arguments. A council statement alleged that 'political

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and military leaders from Belgrade' were also 'responsible' for the conduct of Krajina Serbs, because they were 'immediately in charge of their (Krajina Serb) activities.'

This fabrication once again shows that Croatia does not care about the political normalization of relations but, on the contrary, continues to increase tension which can only have disastrous consequences for the peoples in the former Yugoslavia. Croatian authorities failed to give a valid explanation for the way in which a 'limited' police action, as the aggression on Serb Krajina was initially presented, turned into a military campaign.

Croatia has openly deceived the international community and blatantly ignored all international demands, even those by Germany and the United States that it end its offensive.

Defense Minister: Over 350 Serbs Killed

LD0405095195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 4 May 95

[Report from assembly in Zagreb by Zoltan Kabok]

[FBIS Translated Text] A joint session of both chambers of the Croatian assembly was held this morning at which reports on the current political and security situation were submitted by Prime Minister Nikica Valentic, Minister of Internal Affairs Ivan Jarnjak, Defense Minister Gojko Susak, and Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granic.

Prime Minister Nikola Valentic said that Croatia invites all the population of Western Slavonia who have fled this area to return on condition that they recognize the Croatian state. Serbs in encirclement [in Pakrac area] are invited to abide by the [cease-fire] agreement; those wishing to pull out may do so, while those wishing to stay should hand in their weapons. The action was limited, but it may have some influence on the global situation, Prime Minister Nikica Valentic said.

Minister of Internal Affairs Ivan Jarnjak then spoke about reasons for the limited action stressing that the main task was to secure normal traffic along the Zagreb-Lipovac and Pakrac-Pozega roads. Traffic is now unfolding safely; there have been no excesses nor will there be any, Minister Jarnjak said. In the limited action the police force suffered nine fatalities while 34 police members were wounded. What is important is the establishment of civilian authorities in this area. A police station in Okucani has already been opened; a border police station is to be opened in Stara Gradiska today.

Minister of Defense Gojko Susak said that Croatia's estimate was that 4,500 soldiers, 20 tanks, 50 artillery pieces, and 20 armored personnel carriers were deployed by the Serb rebels in that area. The entire Croatian force involved in that limited operation included 7,200 men, 30 tanks, 45 artillery pieces and 20 armored personnel carriers, which is only 12 percent of the elite units of the Croatian Army. The action was successfully completed within 31 hours. The majority of Serb rebels have fled, while 950 of them are still encircled. Rebel Serbs have suffered between 350 to 450 killed people and around 1,000 wounded. We have lost 33 soldiers, while 128 were wounded, Defense Minister Gojko Susak said, adding that the Croatian Army has been put on full combat readiness and that if only one grenade lands on Zagreb our estimate is that it is going to be the last, Minister Susak said.

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mate Granic said that Belgrade and Knin had been warned before the action that terrorist actions on the motorway would not be tolerated. We expect further pressure, but we are also convinced that we will manage to convince the world that this was an action aimed against terrorism and at restoring the legitimate rule of the Republic of Croatia, Minister Granic said.

EU Envoys Tell Granic of Concern About Fighting

LD0405111195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 4 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mate Granic today received representatives of the EU troika—Germany, France and Spain—in Zagreb led by French Ambassador Jean-Jacques Gaillard. They conveyed to him the content of the EU declaration and the EU stance regarding the latest developments in Croatia. They expressed concern over the Croatian forces' actions in Western Slavonia and over attacks on civilian targets in Zagreb and other Croatian towns.

They expressed pleasure at the news that a cease-fire agreement was reached yesterday about which they will inform the EU headquarters in Brussels. EU representatives also informed Minister Granic about the decision that negotiations on trade and cooperation with Croatia should go ahead.

Minister Granic again spoke about the reasons which led Croatia to take the action of securing the motorway and the railway line on the territory of Western Slavonia, saying this action was taken in response to acts of classical terrorism, the killing of innocent civilians and the taking of hostages, which is condemned by every sovereign country and to which every other sovereign country would respond. Having emphasized Croatia's orientation to the peaceful reintegration and the continuation of the peace process, Granic said that the Croatian state guaranteed the full civil rights and protection of the Serb ethnic community throughout its territory.

Croats Attack RSK Civilians After Cease-Fire

AU0405080895 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received news that the Croatian Army used multiple rocket launchers and

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other artillery weapons to target Serb civilians and refugee convoys in occupied areas of Western Slavonia. Savage attacks against helpless civilians in Trag, Brusnik, and in the suburbs of Bela Stena, near Pakrac, were launched after 1600 hours [1400 GMT], as today's cease-fire agreement signed by the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and Croatia was supposed to take effect.

We recall that, after today's meeting between the delegation of the RSK, that was headed by Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic, and the delegation of UN peace forces, lead by Gen. Pierre Peters, head of the UN military negotiations team for the territory of former Yugoslavia, an agreement was signed on suspension of all hostilities between the RSK and Croatia. Slobodan Jarcevic, advisor to RSK President Milan Martic, makes an appeal to all Serb Army commanders in all Serb lands to prevent new Croatian crime, emphasizing that this is a matter of minutes.

RSK Army: Croats Occupy UN Observation Posts

LD0405115295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0957 GMT 4 May 95

[Received via fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Knin, 4 May (SRNA)—Active combat actions by the Croatian Army ceased in Western Slavonia last night; the UN-monitored operation of the withdrawal of the civilian population from the area of Pakrac is expected to begin today, states the information service of the [republic of] Serb Krajina [RSK] army. [passage omitted]

On the Lika front, the Croats have occupied UN observation posts; they have concentrated a company in the Trla area; they have brought in artillery in the theater of operations of the Vrhovine Brigade of the Serb Krajina Army. Serb army sources in Knin have warned that attacks by the Croatian Army can be expected in this part of the front.

In the Ustice area, in the Kostajnica section of the battlefield, the Croats fired eight mortar shells. There have been no casualties. [passage omitted]

UN, Krajina Officials Sign Cease-Fire in Knin

AU0305154795 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 3 May 95

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin from the "An Argument More" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The representatives of the Krajina authorities signed an agreement on the total cessation of hostilities in Knin about 10 minutes ago. On behalf of the United Nations, the agreement was signed by General Pierre Peters and Colonel Jacques Greenberg. The Krajina signatories were Borislav Mikelic, Ilija Prijic, and Major General Dusan Loncar.

As has been learned, the signing was preceded by lengthy talks conducted via hot lines between Knin and Zagreb through the mediation of Yasushi Akashi and probably a number of his aides. The agreement will be signed in Zagreb when the international delegation returns from Serbian Krajina.

The agreement went into effect about half an hour ago, at 1600 [1400 GMT]. The agreement stipulates that the armed hostilities, not only in Sector West, but in other regions, too, completely stop as of that time.

The two sides will withdraw to their previous positions as soon as possible. This will be done within 24 hours at the latest. In order to establish safety on the highway, both sides accept that the UN peacekeeping forces, together with the EU observer mission, control [kontrolisati] the highway and the area immediately around it, up to 2 kilometers from each side in Sector West.

Both sides have promised to cooperate fully with the UN peacekeeping forces in the establishment of a special regime for this purpose. The two sides agreed to fully respect the freedom and safety of the UN personnel and the European mission. The UN personnel must be released immediately and the UN property returned.

The forth among these demands, that is, the fourth demand in the agreement, is that both sides agree to continue consultations under UN mediation. The conditions set by the Krajina side, as Prime Minister Mikelic said, was to enable the civilians and Serb fighters with light weapons to leave the Pakrac region. According to Mikelic, this operation will start at 0900 tomorrow morning. [passage omitted]

Granic, U.S. Ambassador Condemn Zagreb Shelling

LD0305162595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 3 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic and U.S. Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith have paid a visit to the children's hospital in Klajiceva Street in Zagreb. Sandra Perak has a report:

[Perak] During his visit to the children's hospital in Klajiceva Street, Zagreb, Croatian Foreign Minister Granic said:

[Begin Granic recording] We have seen all sorts of things in this war. But the shelling of a city with 1 million inhabitants is a crime. A particular crime was the shelling of hospitals, schools, and theaters. All this took place over the past two days. Today we will inform Mr. Goldstone, the chief prosecutor of war crimes for former Yugoslavia. Croatia will likewise find a way to protect itself from these criminals. We have much evidence on who has issued orders to this effect, these are certainly Martic and Celeketic and they will have to answer to the Croatian Government and the international public for these crimes committed against the civilian population. [end recording]

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[Perak] After visiting the children's hospital, U.S. Ambassador Galbraith sharply condemned today's attack on Zagreb. [passage omitted]

Mikelic Cites Akashi 'Guarantees' for Refugees

LD0405075795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0635 GMT 4 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 4 May (TANJUG)—Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic stated last night that he had been given guarantees by Yasushi Akashi, UN Secretary General special envoy for former Yugoslavia, that at 0900 [0700 GMT] today, reinforced UN troops would help the Serb people completely and safely withdraw from the area of Pakrac, ISKRA news agency reports.

Stressing that the withdrawal of these people is now the RSK government's most important task, Mikelic said that in addition to peace forces, this task would also involve representatives of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and International Committee for the Red Cross, with whom Akashi has held meetings.

"The RSK Government, which is in constant session, last night set up an operational headquarters for the reception and accommodation of the Western Slavonia population who have found refuge in the Srpska republic, and also passed a decision on the first segment of funds totaling 2 million dinars to secure normal life of the refugees," he said.

Mikelic said that all institutions that existed in Western Slavonia before the Croatian aggression will continue to function in areas where the refugees are settled. The operational headquarters will be made up of its representatives and some operational officials from several relevant ministries, he added.

Further on Martic Comments on Croatian Situation

LD0305225895 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2245 GMT 3 May 95

[Statement by Milan Martic, republic of Serbian Krajina president, in Blsanska Gradiska, Bosnia, on 3 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] First of all I would like to say that I sincerely sympathize with all the suffering you have been through. I would have much preferred it if the situation had been good and if I had been coming to some wedding in Western Slavonia rather than having to come here when things are at their most difficult for us and explain to you now how we can pull through and find some kind of way out of all this, so that you do not walk away and, at the same time so that we hold on to our own country.

We had a meeting here with the civil authorities, military leaders and with our religious officials. What Croatia has done to us, there is no question about it, this is a crime aided and abetted by the foreign forces of the United States and Germany. There was no betrayal of any kind. It was simply a matter of our enemy being momentarily more powerful and succeeding in taking control of the highway and this area which you know about. But I maintain that one battle [as heard] does not mean the war is lost.

In retaliation for what Tudjman has done to you here we have bombed all their towns, Sisak several times, and Karlovac and Zagreb, both yesterday and today. This was done for your sake. But I would like to tell you that the attack by Tudjman's forces was not only on Western Slavonia. He also attacked Lika and Dalmatia. Lika was defended, and their forces have been removed from Mt. Dinara. Today we sent them an ultimatum: If they continue to attack our surrounded forces we will continue to hit Zagreb, and we will hit and destroy their towns.

After this they asked us to stop targeting Zagreb, saying that they would release our people who are surrounded, something which you are interested in most of all.

[Unidentified soldier] Are we in a position to give ultimatums when there are 50,000 of them to our 5,000? We are in a position...

[Martic] We are in a position to give them this ultimatum and they agreed immediately [as heard]. I would be happy to repeat that we have the strength to defend ourselves. I would be happy but... [indistinct interruptions by soldiers] It has happened that momentarily the enemy was stronger but the war is not lost just because one battle is lost. [indistinct interruptions by soldiers] I did not come here, I would have preferred to come to a wedding but I have come here to sympathize with your difficulties and I want to help you.

SVK Confirms Highway Lost, Okucani Controlled

LD0305125995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 3 May (TANJUG)—The Information Service of the General Staff of the Serb Army of Krajina [SVK] today confirmed that units of the Croatian Army have linked up on the highway and taken control of Okucani.

A statement stresses that the air force of the Croatian Army yesterday repeatedly bombed columns of civilians, women, children, and old people, who were attempting to reach the right bank of the Sava. It also notes that the bridge over the Sava was bombed in several raids. It is damaged but passable.

There are no precise reports yet on the number of dead and wounded Serb fighters. The statement, however, stresses that the number of fatalities among civilians and Serb fighters has reached several hundreds; while the number of wounded is considerably higher. Regrettably, these numbers are not final.

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The Information Service of the General Staff reports that provocative attacks by Croatian forces are still being launched in the Petrinja area and in the zone covered by the Kordun Corps of the VSK. The Croatian side is reinforcing its units in the direction of Baranja, eastern Slavonia, and west Srem. While some artillery units have been moved from Zadar to their combat positions, the statement says.

Almost All Western Slavonia Said Under Army Control

AU0305143195 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 May 95

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[FBIS Translated Text] The drama in Western Slavonia has entered its final stage. Almost the entire region is under the control of the Croatian Army. They control the whole of the highway. They have reached the Sava River. Jasenovac, Okucani, and other places are in their hands.

Parts of the Western Slavonian Corps [of the Serbian Krajina military] are fighting north of Okucani, on the slopes of Mt. Psunj. Its members are heroically resisting attacks by the Croatian Army. According to the still unconfirmed reports, together with them in the woods there are between 3,000 and 5,000 civilians, including some 800 children.

The Croatian media, radio and television, continue to ask them to lay down their weapons, but they are refusing to do so. There are some indications that negotiations with the Croatian authorities have started on opening a corridor to enable people stranded in the woods on Mt. Psunj to reach the right bank of the Sava River in the Srpska republic.

Work on the damage caused by Croatian artillery and bomber aircraft in the past two days is currently under way in Kozarska Dubica and Gradiska. No one is able to assess the civilian or military casualties in Western Slavonia. The only certain thing is that at least 6,000 people have found refuge here on the right bank of the Sava. They are being housed in the municipalities of Kozarska Dubica, Gradiska na Savi [Bosanska Gradiska], Laktasi, and Banja Luka. In these municipalities the schools are closed. Public meetings have also been banned because of the danger of fresh bombing and shelling.

The state and military leadership of the republic of Serbian Krajina need to carry out a serious analysis to find answers to the question of why the Western Slavonian Corps disintegrated so easily and quickly, why the civilian authorities did not display more skill in caring for the weak, and how it was possible for Jasenovac, the center of killed Serbs, to fall to the Croat forces in only two hours of feeble fighting.

'Propoganda' Used To Blame Serbs for Bombing

LD0305142095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1332 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 3 (TANJUG)—The Croatian propaganda is trying to justify brutal aggression, occupation of a part of the republic of Serb Krajina and exodus of civilian population by means of a fabricated footage of alleged Serb bombardment of Croatia's capital Zagreb.

Edited shots aimed at showing that rockets were fired at Zagreb from Serb Krajina military positions have prompted some Yugoslav newspapers to compare the developments in Zagreb with the tragedy at Sarajevo's open-air Markale market in February 1993, because the similarity is more than obvious. Muslim authorities in Sarajevo rushed to accuse Serbs for the Markale massacre, but a United Nations investigation has proved no such thing.

Using the tested scenario, Zagreb is now producing and providing a footage about the alleged bombardment and claiming that Serbs are responsible, all in the hope of eliciting sympathies from the world public and drawing that public's attention away from its own aggression.

The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI said the tv footage and reports about the 'bombardment' of Zagreb were 'a further attempt of Tudjman's pro-Fascist authorities at satanizing Serbs with the help of the international community.' The footage shows that cameras were filming from different angles strictly Vlaska Street where several automobiles were burning.

The consequences of a heavy artillery and rocket attack, had there been any, would have been far more serious and destructive, military experts set out. It has occured also to some Western reporters that Croatian authorities might have themselves planted explosives and set fire to automobiles and tyres only for the sake of anathemizing Serbs, VECERNJE NOVOSTI said.

The message is clear. It is not important that Croatia has carried out aggression and killed many Serbs or made them flee their homes. What is important is that Zagreb has allegedly been bombarded. In the meantime, Croatia's army continues aggression which has been described, by U.N. representatives, themselves, as a crime against the civilian population and blow to efforts aimed at restoring peace in the former Yugoslavia.

About 12,000 Croatian army troops and members of special police units attacked the region of West Slavonia in the republic of Serb Krajina early Monday morning, backed by tanks and aircraft. The republic of Serb Krajina makes up the largest part of the U.N. Protected Area (UNPA).

Croatian forces have killed about 400 Serb Krajina civilians and made 6,000 of them flee to the Srpska

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republic. The exodus has been confirmed by represaentatives of the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

Serb Krajina Information Minister Drago Kovacevic said Tuesday that about 200 people, mostly women and children, had been killed when Croatian forces opened fire on a column of refugees moving from the Serb Krajina town of Pakrac to the town of Okucani, also in Krajina.

Western Slavonia Refugees Seek Shelter in RS

LD0305155095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 3 May (TANJUG)—Since 1 May, when Croatia carried out an aggression against Western Slavonia, at least 5,500 Serbs moved to the territory of the Srpska republic, TANJUG learned from the commission for refugees in Banja Luka.

About 500 refugees found accommodation with their relatives an friends in Banja Luka. The others are accommodated in Nova Topola near Gradiska, Laktasi, Slatina near Laktasi, and in the Dubica municipality, where they have been provided with food and medical help. The number of refugees from Western Slavonia is growing. Many are swimming across the Sava River.

Apart from the help provided by domestic humanitarian organizations, Banja Luka is hoping to get more efficient aid from the UNHCR and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

RSK Official: Attacks Necessary Retaliation

BR0405090195 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 4 May 95 p 3

[Phone interview with Lazar Macura, republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] parliament foreign affairs committee chairman, by Mario Tedeschini Lalli; place and date not given: "We Serbs Are the Victims"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rome—The atmosphere is very heavy around Knin right now. The so-called republic of Serbian Krajina is going through one its toughest moments since the "Serb pioneers" snatched one-third of Croatia away from the government in Zagreb back in 1991. Back in those days the leadership group was already split into "President" Milan Martic's hardliners and "Prime Minister" Borislav Mikelic's doves; now there is chaos. After losing control of Western Slavonia, and with hundreds of soldiers forced to surrender, the Serbs are responding by firing missiles indiscriminately on the cities of Croatia. Lazar Macura, chairman of the local Krajina parliament foreign affairs committee, is among those waiting to see how events develop. He is certain of one thing, however: The missile attacks on Zagreb were necessary to avenge an alleged "massacre" of Serb civilians, which the United Nations is not in a position to confirm.

"All these operations are in retaliation for the massacre of Serb civilians in Eastern Slavonia," he told me over the phone. "We had 400 victims among the civilian population which was fleeing unarmed. It was a full-scale massacre of civilians."

[Tedeschini Lalli] Are you talking about dead or wounded victims?

[Macura] Dead, dead. And there were many wounded too. It was a full-scale tragedy just as the Serbs were fleeing. It is some sort of government-organized terrorism. These are not merely the acts of a few scoundrels. The problem is very serious because it is the work of a regime. How can we be expected to trust a government which assures us that the Serbs can live as free citizens in its country?

[Tedeschini Lalli] But at any rate, it was certain that the missile and artillery attacks were going to hit areas populated by civilians...

[Macura] That is true, but these operations were the result of provocation by the Croats, because they attacked and massacred civilians. It was not a group of soldiers.

[Tedeschini Lalli] Does the accord reached with the United Nations provide for you to stop?

[Macura] Probably. I do not know exactly what the accord says. I think it says all actions must cease: If there are no further Croatian actions, ours will cease too.

[Tedeschini Lalli] So the Bosnian Serbs did not come to your assistance in the end...

[Macura] They have many problems with the Muslims and the Croats. Besides, they, too, are threatened by the occupation of Western Slavonia: They can be bombed from there. The majority of the Serbs killed the other day were hit on Bosnian territory.

Serb Krajina Army: All Combat Activities Ceased

LD0405103795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 4 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 4 May (TANJUG)—All active combat activities have ceased on the territory of Western Slavonia, the Serb Krajina Army General Staff has announced.

In accordance with the signed cease-fire agreement, a UN-monitored withdrawal operation of the civilian population and defenders from the Pakrac area is expected to begin soon.

According to the Serb Krajina Army General Staff, tension continfues along separation lines. In the Nustar area, the Croatian Army is currently taking its previous positions in the separation zone, while on the Drava River, between Belisce and Osijek, the Croatian Army is concentrating some ships.

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The Serb Krajina Army General Staff says there is still no peace on Mt. Dinara. After losing the strategic peaks on this mountain, members of the Croatian Army and the Croat Defense Council again shelled the area surrounding the village of Uniste, in Grahovo municipality.

Government Forces Reportedly Continuing Offensive

AU0305202095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Knin Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 3 May carries several reports on the military situation following the Croatian Army's offensive in Western Slavonia.

The studio announcer cites the Krajina Serb military's information service as saying that "the Croatian Army used artillery, infantry, and air power from the east and west as its units met at the highway and occupied the town of Okucani." The report claims that the Croatian Air Force bombed "lines of civilians, fleeing to the right bank of the Sava River, several times yesterday" but that the bridge at Gradiska is "damaged, but can still be used." The report also claims that "Serbian defense units are doing their best to defend the northern part of the Okucani Municipality and the entire area of the municipality of Pakrac" and says that "the future of several thousand civilians and over 800 children in this area is uncertain. Several hundred Serbian civilians and soldiers have been killed, and many more wounded." It says that "from the [word indistinct] forest toward [word indistinct] on Kordun the Croatian Army has been using snipers with silencers. A concentration of weapons has been observed in the Kamenica, (?Orljak), [words indistinct], and Pisarovina areas, toward the area of defense of the Kordun Corps of republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] army, and movements of tanks were observed in the Sveti Martin area."

The information service report goes on to say that "concentration of weapons and manpower" was observed "towards Baranja, eastern Slavonija, and western Srijem," while the Croatian Army moved "some artillery units towards the frontline positions" from Zadar. It also says that around Lika "the Croatian Army is keeping UN members under a blockade. At the (?Trlo) facility, taken by members of the UN Czech Battalion, five Croatian Army soldiers were wounded when they entered a minefield." It claims that "the RSK army and the army of the Srpska republic have carried out a successful operation pushing the Croatian Defense Council and Croatian Army members from six strategic points on Mt. Dinara," while the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps "used small arms fire yesterday to provoke positions at Kordunski Ljeskovac and southwest of Dvor na Uni they used 82-mm mortars, but there were no casualties."

Reporting from Korenica, Dragana Vukobradovic cites "the information service of the 15th Corps" that in the morning "the Croatian Army started approaching the positions of the Lika Corps in the [word indistinct] area and in the Konjska Glava area, the intention probably being to seize certain important facilities. Our units returned fire and did not allow the defense facilities to be attacked."

An unidentified correspondent in Petrinja, citing the information service of the 39th Banija Corps, a "stable" situation at "the defense lines in the Banija Corps' theater of operations," after Croatian forces launched "heavy attacks throughout last night and today." He goes on to report that "soldiers of the 26th Kostajnica Brigade were forced to respond adequately to Croatian fire from Jasenovac and Drenov Bok. One member of the Banija Corps was wounded in one of the attacks yesterday." He further reports that an "incursion by a reconnaissance-commando team in the Kotor Suma area" was thwarted "but one Serbian soldier was killed." The report also says that "Croatia's aggressive intentions are becoming increasingly apparent" as indicated by "a concentration of forces towards the defense lines in the Banija region, in the Komarevo, Sunja, and Nebojanski Dzep areas."

Ljubica Cica, reporting from Radio Petrova Gora on the security situation on Kordun, says that "air raid and general alarms have been sounded several times since yesterday in Kordun. There have been three alarms since this morning," but cites information from the Kordun Corps command that "last night and this morning it has been calm, with no Croatian provocations." She also reports that the Kordun Corps commander, a Colonel Veljko Bosanac, told RSK Radio, Studio Petrova Gora, that the military situation in this area is stable. Our army is watching the movements of the enemy forces, and at in full combat readiness. The civilian authorities on Kordun have organized civilian life: All the measures for the protection of the population and material goods have been taken.

"Those who are not engaged in defense have taken the situation with utter seriousness and are observing the precautionary measures required by the emergency situation. All the important services have introduced 24-hour duties, St. George's General Hospital has been moved to a war location, and the Kordun coordination body has recommended that catering establishments be closed until further notice and shops, which are well supplied, primarily with food, work short hours."

RSK Minister Claims Zagreb Planning 'Massacre'

AU0305201995 Knin Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Branko Kovacevic, minister of information of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], stated last night that the RSK's government has reliable information that, during the two-day aggression against Western Slavonia, the Croatian Army has killed about 400 civilians, 200 of whom in one single line of refugees

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between Pakrac and Okucani yesterday at 1400 [1200 GMT]. Most of those refugees were old men, women, and children.

Minister Kovacevic pointed out the danger in which about 6,000 civilians find themselves, surrounded by Croatian forces in the Pakrac area. According to the information of the RSK's government, early last night a mass artillery and infantry attack started against this group of Serbian people. The Croatian side did not accept the proposal of UN secretary general's special envoy, Yasushi Akashi, to sign an agreement on the cessation of hostilities because it intended to carry out a massacre of the remaining Serbian people in Western Slavonia during the night, said Minister Kovacevic.

Police Report Explosion Heard in Western Zagreb

AU0405115295 Paris AFP in English 1113 GMT 4 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, May 4 (AFP)—A general alert was sounded in Zagreb Thursday afternoon and an explosion was heard in the western part of the Croatian capital, police said.

Sirens went off at 12:30 p.m. (1030 GMT) and people ran for shelter. Police said the explosion was heard near a psychiatric hospital. This was not immediately confirmed by UN sources. The latest alert came as the Croatian Army entered the UN-controlled buffer zone on the southern front with secessionist Serbs.

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Federal

Parties Condemn Croatian Military Operations

AU0305192295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 3 May on page 5 carries several reports on the reaction by various political parties in Serbia and Montenegro to the Croatian military operations in Western Slavonia.

According to an unattributed report citing a statement by the Serbian Liberal Party, the "UN Security Council resolution that demands only the end of Tudjman's offensive but not the retreat of the Croatian Army to its initial positions is practically encouraging the aggressor to retain the captured territories and solve future political problems with the Krajina Serbs with the military force." The report further cites the Serbian Liberal Party as saying that the "Croatian aggressors are encouraged by the silence of Slobodan Milosevic, whom both Tudjman and major powers consider to be a key politician on the Yugoslav side."

According to a FONET-attributed report citing a statement by the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), the "SPO most sharply condemns the armed aggression of the Republic of Croatia on the republic of Serb Krajina, which is under UN protection." The report adds that the "party is appealing to the Serbian side to refrain from 'extreme moves' that could lead to the further escalation of the conflict."

According to a 100-word report attributed to BETA, the "Serbian Radical Party announced on 1 May that Western Slavonia was 'fiercely attacked by the Croatian Army and Franjo Tudjman's fascist regime' and that the Radicals will extend 'humanitarian and military help' to the people of the republic of Serb Krajina."

The report cites the Radicals as saying that "we demand from the Socialist Party of Serbia and its president to give help and arms to the people of the republic of Serb Krajina and fiercely oppose the Croatian aggression."

Another unattributed report cites the Citizens Alliance of Serbia as saying that "it opposes completely the military actions that are allegedly aimed at extracting a peaceful solution. We appeal to both sides to maximally restrain themselves in their reaction, as the spiral of violence could lead to enormous casualties."

According to a report by DJ.V. citing a statement by the People's Party of Montenegro, the "latest attack by the Croatian armed forces on the republic of Serb Krajina proves that Zagreb is not prepared for a peaceful solution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia" and that Zagreb "has been especially encouraged by Belgrade's official policy toward the two newly formed Serb states." The People's Party communique further states that "by leaving the Serb people without legal and military protection, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has directly let Zagreb know that it can settle militarily relations with the republic of Serb Krajina. Croatia was particularly encouraged by Montenegro's guarantees that Prevlaka will remain a zone of peace, with which the Montenegrin side enabled Croatia to leave the Dubrovnik region out of its war plans."

According to a BETA-attributed report from Banja Luka, the "Serbian Democratic Alliance-Fatherland Front, the strongest nonparliamentary party in Banja Luka, stated yesterday that it was the 'right time for the unification of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serb Krajina,' and appealed to the 'authorities and political forces in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia' to 'take a stand on the latest aggression by Croatia.'"

Cite Croatian 'Aggression'

LD0305185995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1816 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 3 (TANJUG)—Political parties in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia agree that Croatia and its sponsors throughout the world are responsible for the continuation of the war because Croatia has got away with its latest aggression on the republic of Serb Krajina.

The New Democracy Party (ND), the coalition partner of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), says that the international community should bring about the withdrawal of the Croatian Army to its former postitions to show that its position is unbiased and that it wants a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

The president of the opposition parliamentary Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS), Vojislav Kostunica, told a press conference on Wednesday [3 May] that Croatia's friends and allies in the U.N. Security Council and the Contact Group are also to blame or the Croatian aggression on Western Slavonia.

The vice-president of the opposition parliamentary Civil Alliance of Serbia (GSS), Zarko Korach, said on Wednesday that, in the political sense, the main victim of the Croatian military action in Western Slavonia are prospects for reaching a real peace agreement between Knin and Zagreb.

The Serbian Radical Party 'Nikola Pasic' (SRSNP) said that the latest Croatian aggression resulted from the change in the mandate of the U.N. peace force and that Croatia had launched the aggression in Western Slavonia 'counting on support from Germany, the United States and other sponsors.'

The non-parliamentary Yugoslav Allied Left (JUL) believes that relations between the Serbian and Croatian people, Serb Krajina and Croatia, can be resolved through talks without making any conditions and with the support of peace-oriented forces.

The Croatian aggression on Serb Krajina has over the past few days been strongly condemned by the ruling and other parties in the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

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Jovanovic Returns From Slovakia, Opposes Force

LD0305221795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2137 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 3 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said on Wednesday [3 May] that Yugoslavia and Slovakia took the position that force should not be used in dealing with the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Speaking on his return from a visit to Slovakia, Jovanovic said that both countries were of the view that the right solution should be sought and found primarily by the warring sides.

During the one-day working visit, Jovanovic had had talks with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Foreign Minister Juraj Senko.

Jovanovic informed his partners in talks about the latest escalation of the crisis, provoked by Croatia's aggression on the U.N.-protected republic of Serb Krajina, and about Yugoslavia's official position formulated in a statement published on Tuesday.

'We reminded our hosts that what we have here is a continuous aggression, the fourth invasion of Serb Krajina territory by the Croatian Army since the adoption of the Vance plan (that put U.N. troops in the former Yugoslavia),' Jovanovic said.

'The reply we received was encouraging, to the effect that Slovakia is fully committed to the peaceful method of dealing with all conflicts and crisis, on the basis of equality,' he said.

Article Presents Milosevic as Main Wire-Puller

AU0405093695 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 95 p 5

[Article by Miodrag Vukmanovic: "The Key Figurehead"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Angry with the decision made by the UN Security Council to introduce stricter control of the traffic between the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the self-proclaimed Serbian states in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, Radovan Karadzic threatened with the occupation of Sarajevo if the conflict in Bosnia is not solved to his satisfaction. Pressed hard by the patient maneuvering of international mediators, the Pale leader showed his rage and complete inconsiderateness toward international public opinion, but this has convinced hardly anybody of his decisiveness and the firmness of his own political position. It could rather be claimed that it has disclosed its hopelessness. The strikes [against him] gave the impression that they had been synchronized since they came from opposite directions. First, Mladic, Mikelic, and Abdic gathered for a "secret" meeting at Milosevic's. The list of invited showed which people the big master of Serbian happiness and well-being counts regarding the completion of the Yugoslav crisis. Knowing their military biographies nobody doubts that all three of them are agents of official Belgrade, which—just like them—is oriented to the left. The ideological shades were negligible in the intervals of harmony between the communists and Chetniks, until it was proven that the survival of the regime is a more important matter than the unrealistic Serbian unity. The "patriots" were then denied the status of brothers and returned to "chetniks." The authority of Radovan Karadzic melted away on that way.

A Yugoslav People's Army officer, who became famous in battles against an enemy without weapons [Mladic], a local dogmatic troublemaker in the former League of Communists of Croatia [Mikelic], and the manager of a poultry-processing plant with a criminal record for embezzlement [Abdic], have been presented as the "reasonable" alternative to the insatiable ultranationalist leadership of the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Krajina. It seems that Milosevic has assessed that the best thing for him is—if he has to give up Bosnia and Croatia—to also give up the stubborn chieftains from Pale and Knin, who are supported by an unpleasantly large part of the Serbian opposition. This can explain the increasingly intense babbling of the regime propaganda, which in contrast to the memories of the people speaks about the "convinced peacemaking orientation" and other virtues of the Yugoslav politics, by which the masses are being prepared for defensive actions. By excommunicating Karadzic, Babic and other chieftains with big appetites from the other side of the Drina River, which is, practically, an introduction to their political liquidation, new "healthy forces" are being brought into the game, which will at the proper moment sign the Contact Group peace plan and liberate Serbia and Montenegro of increasingly unbearable sanctions.

This is how events would probably unfold if the whole enterprise were directed only from Belgrade. This is not the case, however. Neither will this ever be the case. The international community is in any case more interested in peace than in Serbian ideological differences, but everybody who thinks that it will forget the principles it proclaimed because of the undefeatable Milosevic is wrong. This would be an advanced end of the world. The character of the Belgrade and Podgorica regime is certainly not close to the Western powers, but they do not shrink from using them in order to bring the still militant leaders to their senses. The local propaganda is misinterpreting this policy by lying to the public that there is "more and more understanding" for the removal of the sanctions and other concessions. In order to show to the Pale leadership, and not only to them, what kind of danger is awaiting them, the information was transmitted from The Hague that an investigation against Karadzic, Mladic and Stanisic was opened before the International Court for War Crimes. The highest officials from the three key segments of the Serbian parastate in Bosnia—politics, the army and the police—were accused of organizing mass killings in their function as commanding officers. It is generally considered that

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the prosecutor Goldstone did not decide to choose the three of them without firm evidence. This would otherwise discredit international justice. The only matter to be discussed is whether the moment that the investigation was opened against the aforementioned was completely independent of the effect of diplomatic defeat immediately before the expiry of the cease-fire agreement. The judges in The Hague claim that they are exclusively led by their schedules, but even if this were not the case, hardly anyone would be prepared—because of the nature of the process and the heavy burden of the general responsibility to be established—to reproach the Court its collaboration with politics.

If it were only Karadzic, Milosevic and his friends would somehow get over the evil fate of their recent ward. The general commander of all Serbs could say: "I bore you, I shall kill you too," as Cossack captains say. The notebook from The Hague contains two more important beasts, though. Indifference to the fate of one's own ideological rival can be understood, but it is a very difficult decision to extradite one's own general who has never aroused doubts about his loyalty to the supreme commander. Everybody knows that neither Karadzic nor Mladic, not even less important persons, will ever be extradited to the Court in The Hague, but the fact that the three Pale leaders with the broadest powers were mentioned as potential war criminals speaks in favor of the fact that Milosevic's regime will be exposed to various temptations.

What he tried to unravel, the cunning fellows from the international community are making an insoluble knot of. They obviously do not want to fight only against the prodigal cheat from Pale, because they are certain that there are strategic decisions about the war in Bosnia and Croatia that have been passed by neither Karadzic, nor Mladic or Martic. A large-scale investigation against these three persons could disclose everybody including "the key figurehead for the solution to the Yugoslav crisis." You can imagine what kind of circus this would be.

Serbia

Commentary Condemns Killing 'Innocent Civilians'

AU0305191995 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 3 May 95

[Commentary by announcer Milorad Komrakov]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has been demonstrated once again that the killing of civilians in one place cannot be stopped by the killing of an innocent population in another region, that the killing of children and refugees around Gradiska cannot be stopped by the killing of civilians in Zagreb. No sensible person can approve of the new war escalation or the bombing of towns and the killing of innocent civilians.

This is why every sensible person realizes that the only way to solve conflicts is through negotiations and a peaceful settlement of the crisis. All efforts of Yasushi Akashi, special envoy of the UN secretary general, the diplomatic activity of Belgrade, which is already encountering support in the world, and the peace efforts of the international community are all subordinated to that aim.

Yugoslav Left Condemns Croat 'Extremist' Forces

LD0305155595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 3 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 3 May (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Left issued a statement today saying that the party "most vehemently protests against the escalation of war, bombardment of towns, and the suffering of innocent population, women and children."

The statement by the Yugoslav Left directorate says that "the escalation of war is being encouraged by extremist nationalistic forces on both sides" adding that these extremist forces are "the worst enemies of their own people."

"We believe that relations between the Serb and Croatian nations—the republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia—can be solved through negotiations which should begin immediately, which should take place without any conditions and with the support of those forces in the world and on the territory of former Yugoslavia whose orientation is peace," the statement says. [passage omitted]

Radical Leader Seeks To Oust 'Traitor' Milosevic

BR0305130195 Milan L'INDIPENDENTE in Italian 3 May 95 p 8

[Interview with Serbian Radical leader Vojslav Seselj by Elisabetta Jankovic in Belgrade; date not given: "I Wanted To Deal Italy a Blow, Then the Knight Arrived on the Scene"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Vojslav Seselj, age 40, is the leader of the Serbian Radicals, the strongest opposition party in Belgrade. He gained notoriety in Italy for the threats he made last year: He claimed that he would (and could) launch a long-range bomb attack on the Aviano military air base, and even on Rome, if Italy persisted in serving as a base for the NATO retaliation missions against the Serbs. Seselj is now convinced that the resurgence in the war is a direct consequence of the truce, which has merely been used by Belgrade's enemies to rearm and reorganize. In his opinion, it is with Western support that the Muslims and Croats want to destroy Greater Serbia.*

[Jankovic] Where should Serbia's borders be drawn?

[Seselj] Serbia's borders are a matter of common knowledge: They take in all the regions and territories where the Serbian people lives.

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[Jankovic] You are in opposition in Belgrade. What are your criticisms of President Milosevic?

[Seselj] Slobodan Milosevic is a traitor to the fatherland. He does nothing but drag the nation into destitution, and all he thinks about is holding on to power. We want to bring him down as soon as possible.

[Jankovic] When you talk of "treason," are you referring to the closing of the frontiers along the Drina (between Serbia and the Bosnian Serbs—L'INDIPENDENTE editor's note) and the ensuing easing of the embargo?

[Seselj] The beginning of Milosevic's treason goes back to May 1993, when the president agreed to the peace plan put forward by the European mediator, Lord Owen. In September 1993, Milosevic organized a coup d'etat against the Srpska republic and a coup d'etat against the the Serbian president of Bosnia, Karadzic.

[Jankovic] To what lengths is the Serbian Radical Party prepared to go for the Serbs of Bosnia?

[Seselj] There is nothing that the chetniks cannot do: They can send anything from food and medicine to volunteers.

[Jankovic] If you were to win the next election, what sort of government would you introduce?

[Seselj] Serbia would be republican, democratic, and with a free-market, capitalist economy.

[Jankovic] You made all the front pages last year for threatening to bomb Italy... Were you just stirring things up?

[Seselj] My threat was the inevitable and natural response to Italy allowing the NATO forces to bomb Serb positions. It was a threat, not an idle boast, because we really do have the means to carry it out. Then, when the Freedom Pole came to power in Italy, Italian policy toward us began to be more objective.

[Jankovic] Some people in Italy describe you as "an ultranationalist fascist." How do you describe yourself?

[Seselj] I regard and describe myself as a nationalist, but being a nationalist does not mean being a fascist. I cannot be considered a fascist because I have fought dictatorship and totalitarianism all my life. Communism was a dictatorship as well.

[Jankovic] What nation strikes you as the most hostile to the Serbs?

[Seselj] The first to start the battle against the Serbs was the Vatican, because the Croats are Catholic, whereas we are Orthodox. Germany began after the Vatican, after which many other nations took up the same stance. It is only now that more objective attitudes are beginning to emerge, starting with Britain, Spain, and Italy...

[Jankovic] Can diplomacy not stop the war in Bosnia?

[Seselj] The war can end now on certain conditions. Bosnia must be divided into three to reflect current positions. But the war is good business for too many people.

Montenegro

Deputies Demand President's Stand on Aggression

AU0305172795 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 May 95

[Report by Miodrag Vukovic from Podgorica]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Montenegrin Parliament is convening in Podgorica today. The deputies are currently discussing the draft law on regular courts. Here is a report by Miodrag Vukovic on the parliament's work this morning:

[Vukovic] Before the continuation of the debate on the draft bill on regular courts, which was adjourned last week, the deputies from the Serbian Radical Party and the People's Party of Montenegro insisted that the Montenegrin Parliament take a stand on the latest Croatian aggression. They also demanded that the Montenegrin president address the parliament on that issue. Montenegrin Parliament Speaker Svetozar Marovic explained that such a proposal has already been sent to [President] Momir Bulatovic and that after the consultations with the heads of the party caucuses, he will inform the assembly on possible inclusion of the Croatian aggression and the speech by the president of Montenegro in the agenda.

Only then did the deputies continue the discussion on the draft bill on regular courts that was adjourned last week. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Bukoshi Appeals for 'Sacrifices' From Exiles

AU0405103095 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 3 May 95 p 5

[Article by B. Kelmendi: "Only We Can Liberate Kosova"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Three-Percent Council [responsible for collecting levy on earnings of Kosovars abroad] for the Swiss cantons of Basel and Basel Land organized an information session with our compatriots in Reinach the day before yesterday [1 May]. Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, prime minister of the Republic of Kosova; Xhafer Shatri, minister of information; and Isa Mustafa, economy and finance minister, were present. Ali Berisha opened the session and gave the floor to Prime Minister Bukoshi, who talked about the current situation in Kosova, internationalizing the question of Kosova, and the chances for its solution.

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Dr. Bukoshi said, "Nothing good is happening in Kosova. Serbia is continuing its violence and terror, and this violence is being intensified by looting. The victims as ever are the Albanians, who are continuing to resist through their peaceful policies as far as they are able. Our compatriots in Switzerland and elsewhere in the West, who with their material sacrifices are attempting to alleviate the difficult economic situation caused by the Serbian occupation and plunder, are a major support for this resistance." However, Bukoshi continued, even more sacrifices are required for Kosova and its freedom. We must understand one thing: That nobody will liberate Kosova if we do not do it ourselves. If we want to survive as a nation and people, we must liberate Kosova. We will liberate Kosova, because we have no alternative other than a life independent of Serbia. Our political goals, our Constitution, and the referendum lay this duty on us.

Dr. Bukoshi devoted part of his speech to the internationalization of the Kosova question. However, because of the war in Bosnia, the cause of Kosova has unfortunately been marginalized recently. We can overcome this marginalization through more determined work, greater pressure on the international community, and more effective organization.

Dr. Bujar Bukoshi also spoke of another blight that has struck Kosova: emigration. "By fleeing Kosova, we are aiding Serbia's project of colonizing Kosova. We therefore ask you not to abandon your birthplace without pressing reasons. We will defend Kosova by remaining there, not fleeing."

Ending his speech, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi appealed to our compatriots to perform their constitutional obligations to the state of Kosova. "If you are not making sacrifices for the state, how can you create it?" Dr. Bukoshi asked.

Isa Mustafa talked about the progress of the treasury of the Republic of Kosova. Gani Hoxha, chairman of the Three-Percent Sector for Switzerland, spoke about trends in Switzerland, and Iliaz Krasniqi spoke about the situation in Basel and Basel Land.

Information Minister Xhafer Shatri talked about publicizing the truth about Kosova and the need for the Albanians to issue more foreign-language publications about Kosova and their historical and ethnic rights.

At the end, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi and his colleagues replied to many questions from our compatriots. In their replies, they said that we must all labor and make sacrifices for Kosova and its independence. They said that there are no disagreements between the government and the political parties but that both the government and the parties are each doing their own jobs. There is fear of an outbreak of war in Kosova. The Serbs would start this war, but the Albanians are not frightened of it; the Albanians want peace but not on the condition of remaining in slavery. The Albanians in the West must represent Kosova in a worthy fashion and respect the laws and morals of the states where they live, not falling into the trap of the criminality that has started to spoil our reputation in the West.

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